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CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS
ARTHUR LORD MORTON DEXTER[1]
GAMALIEL BRADFORD, JUN.
WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD

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[1] Died, October 29, 1910

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WILLIAM BRADFORD TO JOHN

(2) 1638.

To the right wor: [illegible] John
Winthroope Gouernour
of y Massachusets
these be

Beloued S.r

I thanke you for your leter touching Mrs Hutchingson. I heard since of a monsterous & prodigious birth which she should discouer amongst you, as also that she should retracte her confession or acknowledgments of those errours, before she went away; of which I haue heard many various reports. If your leasure would permite) I should be much bequeathed vnto you, to certifie me in a word or tow, of ye truth & forme of ye monster &c. vpon ye Information & complaints of our neighbours at Sityate I am requested by our assistants to write vnto you, touching a late partition, or limiting of confines, betweene you & vs; of which we heard noking till of late. Wherin we vnderstand you haue entrenched farr vpon those lands, which we haue conceived to belong to vs by right diuers waies; as first by compossion & (ancient) contracts wth ye natiues to whom ye right & soueraintie of them did belonge, which did extend as farr as conaqaseb, which was ye bounds betweene ye Sachimos of ye Massachusets, & those of these parts; 2ly yt since, (late) been confirmed vnto vs by patents from his majesties authoritie. 3ly vpon no haue possest it & planted it some yeares agoe. We desire you will giue vs a reason of your proceedings herein; as also that that they may be a faire & freindly desission of ye controuersie; that we may preserue peace & brotherly loue amongst our selues, that haue so many Enimies abroad. Ther was not long since your wth vs Mr Collington & some other of your people, who brought Mr Williams with them and prest vs hard for a place at, or near Sowamos, the which we denid them; then Mr Williams informed them of a situations yland called monachunko, touching which ye solisited our good will, to which we yealded (so they would compound wth vs as we mind) ye which we heard was ill taken by you, but you may please to vnderstand yt it is not in our patents (though we told them not so) for yt only was excepted out of it.) and we thought (if they like it) yt were better to haue them, (though they differ in opinions) then (possibly) worse neighbours, both for vs & you. We thinke it is also better for vs both to haue some strenght in ye Bay. thus commending you & your affairs to ye Lord, with my loue remembred to your selfe, & the rest of my worthy friends wth you, I take leaue & rest

April. 11. 1638

your vnworthy friend
William Bradford

HISTORY OF
Plymouth Plantation
1620-1647

By WILLIAM BRADFORD

In Two Volumes : VOLUME I



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Note

The Pilgrim Fathers at first established themselves at Plymouth as a matter of necessity. Later, they with deliberation chose to remain in a place which was soon overshadowed and absorbed by a colony occupying a site in every respect more advantageous. For nearly ten years, however, the planters at New Plymouth remained the only English settlers north of Chesapeake Bay, a few scattered fishing and trading establishments alone excepted. Prior to 1630 the history of New Plymouth was the history of New England. The earlier settlements were sporadic in character, and unimportant so far as the subsequent settlement was concerned, exercising no appreciable influence upon it. Their story has been told in all necessary detail. With the coming of the Endecott party the importance of the neighboring plantation declined, and as Massachusetts Bay increased in numbers and influence, New Plymouth lost authority, and with the confederation of 1643 threw its lot in with the more powerful bodies. As an historical factor it practically ceased to exist.

Bradford began to write his *History* in 1630; the last year of annals included in his work was 1646, but he wrote as late as 1650. He thus covered the whole period of the historical importance of New Plymouth. Before 1630 his story stands unique in American annals; beginning with that year the *History* of Winthrop complements and enlarges the record.

The Bradford *History* has been issued in four distinct editions. The Massachusetts Historical Society printed it in 1856, with notes by Charles Deane.[1] In 1895 the Bradford MS. was reproduced in fac-simile by photography, with an introduction by John Andrew Doyle. Six years later, and after the MS. had been transferred to the custody of the State of Massachusetts, the General Court of Massachusetts printed an edition, avowedly based upon the text of the Deane edition, but claiming to be improved by a careful collation with the original MS. In 1908 Dr. John Franklin Jameson included the *History* in the series of "Original Narratives of early American History," with notes by William Thomas Davis of Plymouth, but with some important omissions

[1] 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, III. An edition of fifty copies was also printed on thicker paper for private distribution.

in the text. Only in the photographic reproduction was the text complete, and in that form it was not readily available for general reading.

In the present edition of the Bradford *History* the text is printed in its entirety for the first time. The original was taken as a foundation, and twice has the printer's proof been collated with the fac-simile of Doyle. The omissions of earlier issues have been made good, and verbal changes have been introduced where the reading of the MS. has been at fault. The treatment of the text follows generally that adopted by Mr. Deane. The orthography of the original has been preserved; but in a few instances obvious errors of inadvertence have been corrected. The peculiar use of the time of the letters *u* and *v*, and *i* and *j*, has not been followed, as a matter of no importance. While Mr. Deane printed *such* for *shuch*, because of corrections in the manuscripts, this edition adopts *shuch*, as other manuscripts of Bradford show that was his spelling of the word. The underscoring of words and sentences in the original was due to Prince and not Bradford, and is not followed in this edition. Notes by Bradford and Prince are not quoted, but are ascribed to the writers as part of the original manuscript; those by Mr. Deane are quoted and signed. All else has been added by the Editor of the present volume.

The paging of the manuscript has been preserved in brackets, making easy reference to the editions prepared by Mr. Deane and the State of Massachusetts. References to first or contemporary issues of authorities are indicated by an asterisk before the page number. In annotating and illustrating the text whatever was authentic and of contemporaneous origin has been brought into the notes, so as to present as full a picture of the life of the plantation at the time as the available records will permit.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.
ARTHUR LORD.
GAMALIEL BRADFORD, JR.
WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD, *Editor.*

BOSTON, *July*, 1912.

Of Plimmoth Plantation

And first of the occasion and Indusments ther unto; the which that I may truly unfould, I must begine at the very roote and rise of the same. The which I shall endevor to manefest in a plaine stile; with singuler regard unto the simple trueth in all things, at least as near as my slender Judgmente can attaine the same.

Of plimoth plantation

And first of ye occasion, and inducements ther vnto, the which that I may truly vnfould, I must begine at ye very roote & rise of ye same. the which I shall endevor to manefest in a plaine stile, with singuler regard vnto ye simple trueth in all things, at least as ~~euer~~ near as my slender iudgmente can attaine the same.

1. Chapter

It is well knowne vnto ye godly, and iudicious, how euer since ye first breaking out of ye light of ye gospell in our Honourable nation of England (which was ye first of nations, whom ye Lord adorned ther with, after ye grose darknes of popery which had couered & ouerspred ye christian worlde) what warrs & oppositions euer since Satan hath raised, maintained, and continued against the saincts, from time, to time, in one sorte, or other. Some times by bloody death & cruell torments; other whiles imprisonments, banishments, & other hard vsages as being loath his kingdom should goe downe, the trueth prevaile; and ye churches of god reverte to their anciente puritie, and recouer their primitiue order, libertie & libertie. But when he could not prevaile by these meanes, against the maine trueths of ye gospell, but that they began to take rooting in many places, being watered with ye bloud of ye martires, and blesed from heauen with a gracious encrease. He then began to take him to his anciente stratagemes, vsed of old against the first christians. that when by ye bloody & barbarous persecutions of ye Heathen Emperours, he could not stoppe & subuerte the course of ye gospell; but that it speedily ouerspred, with a wounderfull celeritie, the then best known parts of ye world. He then began to sow errours, heresies, and wounderfull dissentions amongst ye professours them selues (working vpon their pride & ambition, with other corrupte passions, incidente to all mortall men; yea to ye saints them selues in some measure) By which wofull effects followed; as not only bitter contentions & hartburnings, schismes, with other horrible confusions. But Satan tooke occasion & aduantage therby to foyst in a number of vile coremoneys, with many vnprofitable Cannons & decrees which have since been as snares, to many poore & peaceable souls, euen to this day. So as in ye anciente times, the persecutio

·1· Chapter

IT is well knowne unto the godly and judicious, how ever since the first breaking out of the lighte of the gospell, in our Honourable Nation of England (which was the first of nations, whom the Lord adorned ther with, affter that grosse darknes of popery which had covered, and overspred the christian worled) what warrs, and opposissions ever since Satan hath raised, maintained, and continued against the Saincts, from time, to time, in one sorte, or other.[1] Some times by bloody death and cruell torments, other whiles Imprisonments, banishments, and other hard usages. As being loath his kingdom should goe downe, the trueth prevaile; and the churches of God reverte to their anciente puritie; and recover their primative order, libertie, and bewtie.[2] But when he could not

[1] The writings of Bradford from which may be gathered his views of church and church government are confined to certain parts of this History, and two Dialogues or conferences, which will appear in another volume. The times in which those conferences were prepared are not known, though the first conference is dated 1648, and the manuscript of the third conference bears upon its first leaf the date 1652. These years, thus noted, may suggest the time of writing. Nathaniel Morton, then secretary of Plymouth, copied the first dialogue into the records of the Plymouth Church, and thus preserved it from the fate of the second, of which not even the subject is known. This Dialogue, taken from Morton's record, first appeared in print in 1841, as a part of Alexander Young's scholarly compilation, *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*. Nearly fifteen years later the *History* was printed by the Massachusetts Historical Society, and in 1870 the same society published in its *Proceedings* (XI. 396) the third conference, with an introduction by Charles Deane. Bradford treats of the disputes on doctrine and form of church government in the *Dialogues* in such a manner as to prove his wide readings and his intense convictions; and his summary in these paragraphs of the *History* is masterly in its brevity, simplicity, and comprehensiveness.

[2] "The true church and the proper gouermente of the same, is to be knowne by the scriptures, and to be measured only by that rule, the primatiue paterne; which church and the gouermente of the same is sufficiently described and layed down in the writ-

prevaile by these means, against the maine trueths of the gospell, but that they began to take rootting in many places; being watered with the blooud of the martires, and blessed from heaven with a gracious encrease; He then begane to take him to his anciente strategemes, used of old against the first christians. That when by the bloody, and barbarous persecutions of the Heathen Emperours, he could not stoppe, and subverte the course of the Gospell; but that it speedily overspred, with a wounderfull celeritie, the then best known parts, of the world; He then begane to sow errours, heresies, and wounderfull dissentions amongst the proffessours them selves (working upon their pride, and ambition, with other corrupte passions, incidente to all mortall men; yea to the saints them selves in some measure.) By which wofull effects followed; as not only bitter contentions, and hartburnings, schismes, with other horrible confusions. But Satan tooke occasion and advantage therby to foyst in a number of vile ceremoneys, with many unproffitable Cannons, and decrees which have since been as snares, to many poore and peaceable souls, even to this day.[1] So as in the anciente times,

ings of the apostles and euangelists." As the Roman Catholic church affirmed that the church was not known by the word of God, but the word of God was known by the church, the differences between the two systems of church government were irreconcilable, and the form or structure of the Romish church was regarded as of human, not of divine, institution. Bradford states the question more at large in the *Third Conference*, and fully displays the strong hatred of the Catholic church entertained by the Puritans. He exhibits the claims and sins of the Papacy in such a light as to lead his hearers, the "young men" of Plymouth, to exclaim, "the Lord keepe vs farr from her iniquitie, that we may be kept from her plagues." Nor were the lines of his exposition of the dealings of the English hierarchy any less severe in criticism. It was long before the fear of the Roman church ceased to exercise a strong influence upon the polity of Massachusetts Bay in its internal as well as its external features. Much the same prejudice existed in the colony against the English State church until the end of the seventeenth century.

[1] For the beginnings of the Reformation Bradford has only good words, so far as the power of the papacy was cast off, and "the purity of doctrine in the cheefe foundations of religion restored." In the power of godliness the English church attained to as great height as other Reformed churches, but in matters of church government, he believed,

the persecuti[2]ons by the heathen, and their Emperours, was not greater then of the christians one against other. The Arians, and



"HERETICS," 1645 [1]

other their complices, against the orthodoxe and true christians. As witneseth Socrates in his ·2· booke.[2] His words are these; *the vio-*

much remained to be improved. A lordly hierarchy, governed by almost the same laws, exercising much the same discipline, and claiming the same authority as under the papacy, interfered with that freedom of worship and of church regulation of which the Reformation gave promise. The rapid and complete changes in the religion of the State, necessitated by an alternation of rulers who were catholic or protestant, could not but give occasion to schism and persecution, to insincerity and fanaticism. In time questions of fundamental beliefs gave place to questions of church government, and hence the overwhelming importance attached by the Puritans and other non-conformists to ceremonies, and the many attempts to solve the question by individual measures, taken independently of the State.

[1] This cut is taken from the title-page of John Graunt, *Truths Victory against Heresie* (1645). The "heretics" represented are: Papists, Arians, Brownists, Arminians, Anabaptists, Monarchists, Independents, Antinomians, and Millenarists.

[2] Lib. 2, Chap. 22. — BRADFORD. Socrates (circa 379 A.D.), surnamed Scholasticus,

lence truly (saith he) was no less then that of ould, practised towards the christians when they were compelled, and drawne to sacrifice to Idoles; for many endured sundrie kinds of tormente, often rackings, and dismembering of their joynts; confiscating of ther goods; some bereaved of their native soyle; others departed this life under the hands of the tormentor, and some died in banishmente, and never saw ther cuntrie againe &c.

The like methode Satan hath seemed to hold in these later times, since the trueth begane to springe and spread after the great defection made by Antichrist that man of sinne.[1]

For to let pass the infinite examples in sundrie nations, and severall places of the world, and instance in our owne. When as that old Serpente could not prevaile by those firie flames and other his cruell Tragedies which he (by his instruments) put in ure,[2] every wher in the days of queene Mary, and before. He then begane an other kind of warre, and went more closely to worke, not only to oppuggen,[3] but even to ruinate and destroy the kingdom of christ, by more secrete and subtile means, by kindling the flames of contention, and sowing the seeds of discorde, and bitter enmitie amongst the proffessors (and seeming reformed) them selves. For when he could not prevaile (by the former means) against the principall doc-

a Greek, and a lawyer and ecclesiastical historian. He wrote a continuation of the history of Eusebius, entitled *History of the Church from* 306 to 409 A.D. It was printed in Latin at Bâle in 1544, and in an English translation by Meredith Hanmer, at London, in 1577. The reference in Bradford should be to Lib. 2, Chap. 27.

[1] "For Wycliffe and his adherent John Purvey . . . as on the other hand for Hus, the conviction that the papacy is essentially Antichrist is absolute. Finally, if Luther advanced in his contest with the papacy with greater and greater energy, he did so because he was borne on by the conviction that the pope in Rome was Antichrist. And if in the *Augustana* the expression of this conviction was suppressed for political reasons, in the Articles of Schmalkalden, drawn up by him, Luther propounded it in the most uncompromising fashion. This sentence was for him an articulus stantis et cadentis ecclesiæ." Wilhelm Bousset, in *Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th ed.), 11. 123, where he has given the history of the Antichrist myth. To the Pilgrims the "man of sinne" was a terrifying reality.

[2] Operation, use, or practice.

[3] Oppugn, to oppose actively.

trines of faith; he bente his force against the holy disipline, and outward regimente of the kingdom of christ, by which those holy doctrines should be conserved, and true pietie maintained amongest the saints, and people of God.

Mr. Foxe recordeth, how that besides those worthy martires and conffessors which were burned in queene Marys days and otherwise tormented,[1] *many (both studients, and others) fled out of the land, to the number of* ·800. *And became severall congregations. At Wesell, Frankford, Bassill, Emden, Markpurge, Strausborugh, and Geneva, &c.* Amongst whom (but especialy those at Frankford) begane that bitter warr of contention and persecution aboute the ceremonies, and servise-booke, and other popish and antichristian stuffe, the plague of England to this day, which are like the high-plases in Israell, which the prophets cried out against, and were their ruine; [3] Which the better parte sought, (according to the puritie of the gospell,) to roote out, and utterly to abandon. And the other parte (under veiled pretences) for their ouwn ends, and advancments, sought as stifly, to continue, maintaine, and defend. As appeareth by the discourse therof published in printe, Anno: 1575· (a booke that deserves better to be knowne, and considred.)[2]

[1] Acts and Mon[uments of the Christian Church]: pag. 1587. editi: 2. — BRADFORD.

[2] *A Brieff Discours off the Troubles begonne at Franckford in Germany Anno Domini* 1554. *Aboute the Booke off off Common Prayer and Ceremonies, and continued by the Englishe men theyre, to thende off Q. Maries Raigne.* The work was compiled by William Whittingham (1524?–1579), one of the exiles in Queen Mary's time, whose intention of making Frankfort the ecclesiastical centre for the English exiles on the Continent was frustrated by differences arising on the use of Edward VI.'s second prayer book without material change, and its revision in the line of Calvinism. Dexter conjectured that the book was printed at Zürich, but Pollard (*Dictionary of National Biography*, LXI. 151) says, "probably at Geneva, and in the same type as Cartwright's tracts." One known copy bears the date MDLXXIV, but others, 1575. It was reprinted in London in 1642; in *The Phœnix*, II. 44, in 1708; again in separate form in 1846, with an introduction by J. Petheram, who used information supplied by Thomas McCrie; in John Knox's *Works* (Bannatyne Club), IV. 1855, and in 1907, by Edward Arber. Pollard states that it is the only full account of the struggle extant, but its value is impaired by its polemical object. A copy of the edition of 1642 is in the Prince Library, deposited in the Public Library, Boston.

The one side laboured to have the right worship of God, and discipline of christ, established in the church, according to the simplisitie of the Gospell; without the mixture of mens inventions. And to have and to be ruled by the laws of Gods word; dispensed in those offices, and by those officers of pastors, Teachers, and Elders, &c., according to the Scriptures.[1] The other partie, (though under many colours, and pretences) endevored to have the Episcopal dignitie (affter the popish maner) with their large power, and jurisdiction, still retained; with all those courts, cannons, and ceremonies, togeather with all shuch livings, revenues, and subordinate officers, with other shuch means, as formerly upheld their antichristian greatnes. And enabled them with lordly, and tyranous power to persecute the poore servants of God. This contention was so great, as neither the honour of God, the commone persecution, nor the mediation of Mr. Calvin, and other worthies of the Lord, in those places, could prevaile with those thus Episcopally minded, but they proceeded by all means to disturbe the peace of this poor persecuted church. Even so farr as to charge (very unjustly, and ungodlily; yet prelate-like) some of their cheefe opposers, with rebellion, and high treason against the Emperour, and other shuch crimes.

And this contention dyed not with queene Mary; nor was left beyonde the seas, but at her death these people returning into England under gracious queene Elizabeth,[2] many of them being

[1] The Separatists in England claimed that a church, or congregation, should have the right to select its own pastor, elder, and other officers recognized by the Scriptures, and not be obliged to accept them on the nomination of a bishop, whether acting for pope or king. They accepted Calvin's rule, that those who are to exercise any public function in the church, should be chosen by common voices. The keys, by which were meant government and ecclesiastical power, belonged to the whole church, who alone could choose, ordain, confirm, or even depose its own officers, receive the worthy and excommunicate the guilty, when need required. "It is not only an injury and damage for any to deprive them of this their right and libertie; but that it was no lese than sacriledge and tyranus usurpation in the lordly hierarchie so to doe." Bradford, *Third Conference*.

[2] Queen Mary died November 17, 1558, and Elizabeth was declared her successor before noon of that day. The return of exiles followed promptly.

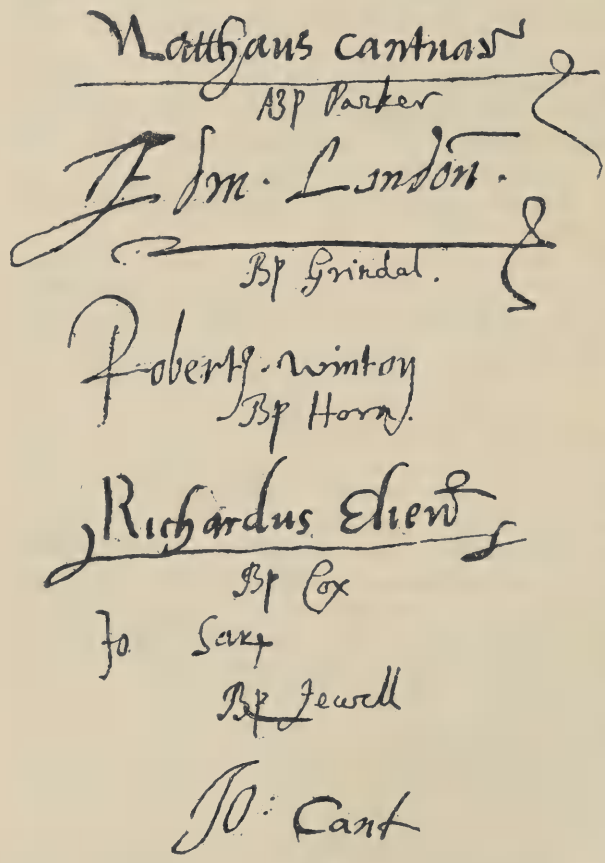
preferred to bishopriks, and other promotions, according to their aimes and desires. That inveterate hatered against the holy discipline of christ in his church hath continued to this day. In somuch that for fear [4] it should preveile, all plotts, and devices have been used to keepe it out, incensing the queene, and state against it as dangerous for the common wealth; And that it was most needfull that the fundamentall poynts of Religion should be preached in those ignorante, and superstitious times;[1] And to wine the weake

In 1597 some of the Queen's "faithful Subjects falsly called Brownistes" petitioned for permission to settle in Canada. They described themselves as "nowe lyving many of us in other Countries as mene exiles her highnes Domynions and the rest which remaine within her Graces land greatlie distressed throughe imprisonment and other great troubles sustained onlie for some matters of conscience," and wished to go to Canada where "we may not onlie worshippe god as wee are in conscience perswaded by his word, but also doe unto her Majestie, and our Country great good service, and in tyme also greatlie annoy that bloodie and persecuting Spaniard about the Baye of Mexico." In March of that year some merchants designed to form a settlement for fishing in the St. Lawrence, and obtained leave from the Privy Council to "take divers persons whose minds are continually in an ecclesiastical ferment," bonds to be given that they never should return unless willing to conform. *Register of Privy Council*, March 25, 1597. Three London merchants, Charles Leigh and Abraham and Steven Van Herwick, sent out two vessels to make a settlement upon the island of Rainea, one of the Magdalen Islands, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Francis Johnson and Daniel Studley were assigned to the *Hopewell*, and George Johnson and John Clark to the *Chancewell*, all of whom answered to the description of troublesome non-conformists. The voyage of Leigh is described in Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, III. 195. (Reprinted by the Hakluyt Society, extra series, VIII. 166.) *See Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, X. 393; *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.* XIII. 259. The *Chancewell* was wrecked, and the four exiles, after landing in England, went to Holland and joined their brethren in a congregation. These first refugees of the Separation, followers for the most part of Barrowe, formed the first or Auncient Church at Amsterdam. The name Canada was at this time usually applied to a district lying along the St. Lawrence, near the Saguenay. The northern region was all called New France, and to the south lay Norumbega, covering lower New England.

[1] Into the controversies that continued through the reign of Elizabeth over church government it will not be necessary to go deeply. The publication in 1565, without

and ignorante they might retaine divers harmles ceremoneis, and though it were to be wished that diverse things were reformed, yet this was not a season for it. And many the like to stop the mouthes

the Queen's open approval, of Matthew Parker's *Advertisements*, precipitated an unexpectedly fierce discussion upon the due order of prayers and the priestly apparel enjoined by that compilation of enactments. The cope, the surplice, and the square cap were rejected by the Puritans, who extended their dislike to painted windows, certain signs with the hand, and other superstitious monuments. Parker desired to enforce uniformity, and in this desire he had the authority of the Queen. Upon Parker's death in 1575 his successor, Edmund Grindal, in whom existed a sincere desire to conciliate the Puritans, refused to follow the somewhat fickle desires of Elizabeth, now courting catholicism, and he could accomplish little towards lightening the demands of an enforced uniformity in church offices. Yet his known views against severe measures brought him into disfavor with his royal mistress, who welcomed the opportunity given by Grindal's death in 1583 to place the see of Canterbury into the keeping of John Whitgift, a devoted defender of the Episcopal form of church government and a believer in the Anglican ritual. To him Elizabeth gave a free hand in church matters, and he willingly took up the question of full conformity and uniformity with an energy that caused the Puritans to suffer. He greatly



of the more godly. To bring them one [over] to yeeld to one ceremonei after another; and one corruption after another; by these wyles begyleing some, and corrupting others till at length they begane to persecute all the zealous proffessors in the land (though they knew little what this discipline mente) both by word, and deed, if they would not submitte to their ceremonies, and become slaves to them, and their popish trash, which have no ground in the word of God, but are relikes of that man of sine. And the more the light of the gospell grew, the more they urged their subscriptions to

increased the powers of the Court of High Commission, prohibited unlicensed preaching, framed questions for testing the sincerity of adherence in the clergy to the thirty-nine articles and the Book of Common Prayer, and sought in many ways to introduce a procedure that would discover and punish the non-conforming element in the churches. His measures led to much protest, and called out from Burghley the comment that some of them, and especially the oath *ex officio*, by which a minister became evidence against himself, "too much savoured of the Romish inquisition," rather a device to seek for offenders than to reform any. The printing press was placed under restrictions, every manuscript being first submitted to the archbishop or the bishop of London for his perusal and approval. Attacked in the "Martin Marprelate" tracts, he redoubled his efforts to weed out opposition to his orders, and resorted to extreme measures of persecution, under which many were driven to Holland. He survived Elizabeth, and took a prominent part in the Conference of Hampton Court under James, but died one month after that event. Against him the Puritans and their historians have levelled their severest criticisms, and it was under his rule that the persecution described by Bradford occurred. Outside of Holland, the idea of toleration did not exist in Whitgift's day. See p. 25, *infra*. The affairs of church and state, inseparable as they were, lay in a critical posture, and assaults upon the church, whether by Roman catholics or non-conformists, he regarded as assaults upon the state. Those who set aside ritual or ceremony as established by law were rebels and traitors, and he dealt with them accordingly. In his eyes the cruelty and suffering resulting from his acts were more than compensated by increased strength through homogeneity in the church to resist attack. Having eliminated Rome's priests, it only remained to reduce the somewhat restive protestant clergy at least to a passive or an outward conformity. The six bishops, whose signatures are reproduced, were: Matthew Parker (1504–1575), archbishop of Canterbury; Edmund Grindal (1519?–1583), then bishop of London; Robert Horne (1519?–1580), bishop of Winchester; Richard Cox (1500–1581), bishop of Ely; John Jewel (1522–1571), bishop of Salisbury; and John Whitgift (1530?–1604), archbishop of Canterbury.

these corruptions. So as (notwithstanding all their former pretences, and fair colures) they whose eyes God had not justly blinded might easily see wherto these things tended. And to cast

[1] That a little concession on the part of the prelates would have retained many in the Church of England who rebelled against their demands for full conformity, is indicated by John Bastwick, doctor of physic, soldier, and controversialist. He suffered with Prynne and Burton, being sentenced to lose his ears, pay a fine of £5000, and be imprisoned for life; but after 1640 some reparation was made for his punishments. Writing in 1646, he said: "It is well known that, in the time of the Prelates' power, the removal of a very few things would have given great content to the most scrupulous consciences. For myself I can speak thus much, not only concerning the conscientious Professors here in England, but the most rigid Separatists beyond the seas; with many of which, I had familiar acquaintance at home and abroad: and amongst all that I ever conversed with, I never heard them, till within these twenty years, desire any other thing in Reformation but that the Ceremonies might be removed with their Innovations; and that Episcopacy might be regulated, and their boundless power and authority taken from them; and that the extravagances of the High Commission Court might be annihilated and made void; and that there might, through the kingdom, be a preaching Ministry everywhere set up. . . . Yea, I can speak thus much, in the presence of God, That Master Robinson, of Leyden, the Pastor of the Brownist Church there, told me, and others who are yet living to witness the truth of what I now say: 'That if he might in England have enjoyed but the liberty of his Ministry there, with an immunity but from the very Ceremonies; and that they had not forced him to a *Subscription* to them, and imposed upon him the observation of them: that he had never separated from it, and left that Church.'" *The utter Routing of the whole Army of all the Independents and Sectaries*, Sig. F. 2. Bastwick matriculated at Leyden University on 4/14 January, 1617, while the Robinson church was still intact.

From evidence found in a recently discovered MS. it is believed that Robinson was for a time a minister in the Church of England, officiating in St. Andrew's in Norwich, though he never lived in that parish or made an attempt to become a member of that church. Taking offense at the church officers and the ceremonies, he was suspended. His opposition to the prelacy and ceremonies was not of a violent kind, for Joseph Hall wrote at the time: "And touching ceremonies, you [Robinson] refused them formerly, but not long: and when you did refuse them, you knew not wherefore; for immediately before your suspension, you acknowledged them to be things indifferent, and for matter of scandall by them you had not informed your selfe (by your own confession) of a whole quarter of a yeare after. Why refused you then . . . ? But refusing them, you submitted to the prelates spirituall iurisdiction: there was your crime . . . Did euer any prelate challenge spirituall rule ouer your conscience?" *Common Apologie of the Church of England* (1610), 114.

contempte the more upon the sincere servants of God; they opprobriously and most injuriously, gave unto, and imposed upon them, that name of Puritans; which [it] is said the Novatians (out of prid) did assume and take unto themselves.[1] And lamentable it is to see the effects which have followed; Religion hath been disgraced, the godly greeved, afflicted, persecuted, and many exiled, sundrie have lost their lives in prisones, and otherways. On the other hand, sin hath been countenanced; ignorance, profannes, and Athe[i]sme increased, and the papists encouraged to hope againe for a day.

This made that holy man Mr. Perkins[2] *crie out in his exhortation*

[1] Eus: lib: 6. Chap. 42. — BRADFORD. Fuller says the name Puritan began to be applied in 1564, as a term of reproach, to such of the clergy as refused to subscribe to the liturgy, ceremonies, and discipline of the established church. *Church History*, IX. i. § 66. The word is of French form, and "appears to have been intended to suggest that of the Καθαροί (the pure), Catharans, or Catharists, assumed by the Novatian heretics, and thus to convey an odious imputation." *English Historical Dictionary*. The Novatians were a sect founded in the middle of the third century by Novatianus, a Roman presbyter. Chillingworth wrote that "excepting their peculiar error, of denying reconciliation to those that fell in persecution, they held other things in common with Catholiques." *Religion of Protestants*, I. vi. § 49. 368.

Sir Edwin Sandys gave this definition of "Puritaines" in his *A Relation of the State of Religion*, London, 1605:

"A sort of men there liveth in the world at this day whose leaders (whether vpon extreamity of hatred toward the Church of *Rome*, or vpon self-liking and singularitie to value their owne wittes and devises) did cut out in such sort, their reformation of religion, as not onely in all outward religious services and ceremonies, in governement, and church discipline, they doe strive to be as vnlike the Papacie as is possible: but even in very lawfull pollicies, for the advancing of their part, doe disdaine to seeme to bee imitators to them, whom they so much abhored, much like [to a] stowt harted, selfe-witted Capitaine, who scornes to imitate any stratageme before vsed by the enemie, though the putting of it in exploit, might give him assured victorie."

[2] Pag. 421. — BRADFORD. William Perkins (1558-1602), one of the ablest and most open-minded of the Puritan controversialists, much read and admired in his day, and long of wide influence. His *Catechism* was republished in Leyden by John Robinson, and two "little chatachismes" listed in Elder Brewster's library are believed to have been "An Appendix to Mr. Perkins his Six Principles of the Christian Religion, by J. R." 2 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, v. 38. The particular reference is to his *Godly and learned Exposition of Christ's Sermon on the Mount*, 1618. No less than nine of Perkins's volumes were certainly in Elder Brewster's library, and three additional

to repentance, upon Zeph. 2. Religion (saith he) hath been amongst us this ·35· years; but the more it is published, the more it is contemned, and reproached of many, &c. Thus not prophanes nor wickedness; but Religion it selfe is a byword, a moking-stock, and a matter of reproach; so that in England at this day, the man or woman that begines to profes Religion, and to serve God, must resolve with him selfe to sustaine [5] *mocks and injueries even as though he lived amongst the enimies of Religion.* And this commone experience hath confirmed, and made too apparente.

A late observation, as it were by the way, worthy to be noted.[1]

Full litle did I thinke, that the downfall of the Bishops, with their courts, cannons, and ceremonies, &c. had been so neare, when I first begane these scribled writings (which was aboute the year 1630, and so peeced up at times of leasure afterward) or that I should have lived, to have seene, or heard of the same; but it is the lords doing, and ought to be marvelous in our eyes! Every plante which mine heavenly father hath not planted, (saith our saviour) shall be rooted up. Mat: 15. 13.[2]

volumes are conjectural. William Ames was perhaps his most distinguished follower. A copy of the two folio volumes of Perkins's *Workes*, printed in 1603–1608, are valued at £1 10*s*. in the inventory of the library of Elder Brewster.

[1] A note of the author at this place, written subsequent to this portion of the narrative, on the reverse pages of his History; and naturally suggested by the passing events in England. DEANE. The Long Parliament in December, 1640, impeached Laud of treason, and on March 1, 1641, he was committed to the Tower. In March both the Star Chamber and Court of High Commission were stripped of their powers (16 Car. I. c. 10, 11), and on the 21st a bill passed the House of Commons by an almost unanimous vote, removing the bishops from the House of Peers. The political influence of the bishops was broken, and no successor followed Laud, who was executed in 1645, until the year 1660. Winslow, also, recorded his testimony on this great change. "But as they [the Lord Bishops] often stretched out their hands against the saints; so God hath withered the Arm of their power, thrown them down from their high and lofty seats, and slain the chiefe of their persons, as well as the Hierarchy, that he might become an example to all those that rise against God in his Sabbath, in the preaching of his Word, in his Saints, in the purity of his Ordinances. And I heartily desire that others may heare and feare withall." *Hypocrisie Unmasked*, *95.

[2] All these and subsequent passages are quoted from the Geneva version of



MATHER BIBLE, GENEVAN VERSION

I have snared the, and thou art taken, O Babell [Bishops][1] and thou wast not aware; thou art found, and also caught, because thou hast striven against the Lord. Jer. 50. 24. But will they needs strive? against the truth, against the servants of God, what, and against the Lord him selfe? Doe they provoke the Lord to anger? Are they stronger than he? 1. Cor: 10. 22. No, no, they have mete with their match. Behold, I come unto the, O proud man, saith the Lord god of hosts; for thy day is come, even the time that I will visite the. Jer: 50. 31. May not the people of God now say, (and these pore people among the rest), the lord, hath brought forth our righteousnes; come let us declare in Sion the work of the lord our god. Jer: 51. 10. Let all flesh be still before the lord; for he is raised up out of his holy place. Zach: 2. 13.

In this case, these poore people may say (among the thousands of Israll) *when the lord brougt againe the captivite of Zion, we were like them that dreame. Psa:* 126. 1. *The lord hath done greate things for us, wherof we rejoyce. v.* 3. *They that sow in teares, shall reap in joye. They wente weeping, and carried precious seede, but they shall returne with joye, and bring their sheaves. v.* 5. 6.

Doe you not now see the fruits of your labours, O all yee servants of the lord? that have suffered for his truth, and have been faithfull witneses of the same, and yee litle handfull amongst the rest, the least amongest the thousands of Israll? You have not only had a seede time, but many of you have seene the joyefull Harvest. Should you not then rejoyse? yea, and againe rejoyce, and say Hallelu-iah, salvation, and glorie, and honour, and power, be to the lord our God; for true, and righteous are his Judgments. Rev. 19. 1, 2.

But thou wilte aske what is the mater, what is done? Why, art thou a stranger, in Israll, that thou shouldest not know what is done? Are not those Jebusites overcome, that have vexed the people of Israll so long, even holding Jerusalem till David's days, and been as thorns in their sides, so many ages; and now begane to scorne that any David

the Bible. DEANE. A bible, said to have belonged to Bradford, is described in the *N. E. Hist. Gen. Register*, XIX. 12. It is now in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth, Mass.

[1] Bradford here used brackets.

should meadle with them; they begane to fortifie their tower, as that of the old babelonians; but those proud Anakimes are throwne downe, and their glory laid in the dust. The tiranous bishops are ejected, their courts disolved, their cannons forceless, their servise casheired, their ceremonies uselese and despised; their plots for popery prevented, and all their superstitions discarded, and returned to Roome from whence they came, and the monuments of idolatrie rooted out of the land. And the proud and profane suporters, and cruell defenders of these, (as bloody papists and wicked Ath[e]ists, and their malignante consorts) marvelously over throwne. And are not these greate things? Who can deney it?

But who hath done it? Who, even he that siteth on the white horse, who is caled faithfull, and true, and judgeth, and fighteth righteously. Rev: 19. 11. Whose garments are dipte in blood, and his name was caled the word of God. v. 13. For he shall rule them with a rode of Iron; for it is he that treadeth the winepress of the feircenes, and wrath of god almighty! And he hath upon his garmente, and upon his thigh, a name writen, The King of Kings, and Lord of Lords. v. 15, 16.

HALLELU-IAH.

Anno Dom: 1646.

But that I may come more near my Intendmente; when as by the travell, and diligence of some godly, and zealous preachers, and Gods blessing on their labours; as in other places of the land, so in the North parts,[1] many became inlightened by thè word of God; and had their ignorance and sins discovered unto them, and begane by his grace to reforme their lives, and make conscience of

[1] Refers to Gainsborough, in Lincolnshire, where John Smyth had his congregation. "From that company of English people that came over together out of the north parts with me I affirme thus much: That I never received of them all put together the value of forty shillings, to my knowledge since I came out of England." Smyth, *Retractation of his Errours* (1611). "There was no county in the whole of England where Puritanism gained such a stronghold, or made such open demonstration of its objects and methods." *Victorian History of the County of Northampton*, II. 43. The Pilgrim church, however, belonged more especially to Nottinghamshire. See p. 22, *infra*.

Reaſons of the Houſe of Commons why Biſhops ought not to have votes in Parliament.

1 BEcauſe it is a very great hinderance to the exerciſe of their Miniſteriall Function.

2 Becauſe they doe vow and undertake at their Ordination, when they enter into holy Orders, that they will give themſelves wholly to that Vocation.

3 Becauſe Councels and Canons in ſeverall Ages do forbid them to meddle with Secular affaires.

4 Becauſe the twenty foure Biſhops have a dependancie on the two Archbiſhops, and becauſe of their Canonicall Obedience to them.

5 Becauſe they are but for their lives, and therefore are not fit to have Legiſlative power over the Honours, Inheritances, Perſons, and Liberties of others.

6 Becauſe of Biſhops dependancy and expectancy of Tranſlations to places of great profit.

7 That ſeverall Biſhops have of late much encroacht upon the Conſciences and Liberties of the Subjects, and they and their Succeſſours will be much encourag'd ſtill to encroach, and the Subjects will be much diſcouraged from complayning againſt ſuch encouragements, if twenty ſixe of that Order bee to bee Judges upon thoſe complaints; the ſame reaſon extends to their Legiſlative power in any Bill to paſſe for the regulation of their power upon any emergent inconvenience by it.

8 Becauſe the whole number of them is intereſſed to maintain the Juriſdiction of Biſhops, which hath been found ſo grievous to the three Kingdomes, that *Scotland* hath utterly aboliſhed it, and Multitudes in *England* and *Ireland* have petitioned againſt it.

9 Becauſe the Biſhops being Lords of Parliament, it ſetteth too great a diſtance between them and the reſt of their Brethren in the Miniſtery, which occaſioneth pride in them, diſcontent in others, and diſquiet in the Church.

To their having Votes *a long time.*

Anſw. IF in convenient time and uſage are not to be conſidered with Lawmakers.

Some Abbots voted as anciently in Parliament as Biſhops, yet are taken away.

That for the Biſhops Certificate to plenary of Benefice, and Loyalty of Mariage the Bill extends not to them.

For the Secular Juriſdictions of the Dean of *Weſtminſter*, the Biſhops of *Durham*, and *Ely*, and Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, which they are to execute in their own perſons the former Reaſons ſhew the inconveniences therein.

For their temporal Courts and Juriſdictions which are executed by their temporall Offices, the Bill doth not concern them.

FINIS.

their wayes. The worke of God was no sooner manifest in them; but presently they were both scoffed and scorned by the prophane multitude, and the ministers urged with the yoak of subscription, or els must be silenced; and the poore people were so vexed with apparators, and pursuants, and the comissarie courts,[1] as truly their affliction was not smale; which notwithstanding they bore sundrie years with much patience, till they were occasioned (by the continuance, and encrease of these troubles, and other means which the Lord raised up in those days) to see further into things by the light of the word of God. How not only these base and beggerly ceremoneis were unlawfull; but also that the lordly and tiranous power of the prelates, ought not to be submitted unto; which thus (contrary to the freedome of the gospell,) would load and burden mens consciences; and by their compulsive power make a prophane mixture of persons, and things in the worship of God. And that their offices and calings; courts and cannons &c. were unlawfull and Antichristian; being shuch as have no warrante in the word of God; but the same that were used in poperie, and still retained. Of which a famous author thus writeth in his dutch commentaries.[2] At the coming of king James into England;[3] *The new king (saith he) found*

[1] An apparitor was an officer of the Ecclesiastical Courts. One reason why he was so much disliked is to be found in the opportunities for extortion which his office gave him, and which he too often used. The pursuivant was a warrant officer, who could abuse his functions in the same way as a sumner or apparitor. The commissary represented the bishop in parts of his diocese, and exercised spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

[2] Em: meter: lib: 25. fol. 119. — BRADFORD. Emanuel van Meteren, *General History of the Netherlands*, translated by Edward Grimstone, Lib. xxv. fol. 119. Ed. 1608. Grimstone's work was largely a compilation, and the issue of 1609 contains only sixteen books and the paging runs to 1415. The statement quoted by Bradford is not found in it.

[3] In his progress to London in 1603, James received a petition, commonly known as the Millenary Petition, in which the Puritan clergy formulated their proposed reforms in the Prayer Book and in church discipline. The suggested changes could not be acceptable to the church party; but they contained matter worthy of serious consideration, and better fitted to produce peace and toleration than extreme measures or abso-

their established the reformed Religion, according to the reformed religion of king Edward the ·6· Retaining, or keeping still the spirituall state of the Bishops, &c. after the ould maner, much varying

lute rejection. The University of Oxford replied to the petition in a very hostile spirit, but the King gave evidence of having been influenced by it, and called a conference to be held in his presence of leading men of both parties. This was the famous Hampton Court Conference, held in January, 1604, in which the King asserted of the Puritans, "If this be all they have to say, I shall make them conform themselves, or I will harry them out of the land, or else do worse." Gardiner, *History of England*, I. 157. The hopes awakened by the Millenary Petition led to the sending of a fruitless deputation from the English in Holland to London, to implore the king that they might return to England in peace. Dexter, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 440. The King met his first Parliament and Convocation in a spirit decidedly hostile to Puritans or non-conformists. The Convocation framed rules for enforcing conformity, and when Richard Bancroft (1544–1610) became primate, he began at once to enforce these rules, which were indeed largely of his composure. Since 1585 Bancroft had been a vigorous and uncompromising opponent of Puritanism, and he now gave his best efforts to suppress schism in the church. Not content with the canons framed by Convocation, he devised the "ex animo" form of subscription which called for an unreserved acceptance of the doctrines of the Prayer Book. Many of the clergy who had been willing to admit a general conformity were not able to give a full assent, and so were dispossessed and driven from the church.

It is estimated that near three hundred ministers suffered at this time for their non-conformity, a goodly number considering the poverty in clergy of the church. While the ceremonies were the ostensible cause of the dispossession, political reasons formed quite as essential part in the policy. Conformity, absence of schism, uniformity in service and doctrine, unquestioning obedience to the King as the titular head of the church — such constituted the end desired by Bancroft and his master. Opposition to the canons of Convocation became opposition to "lawful authority," and thus a menace to the supremacy of the King. This close intermixture of state with religious policy makes it difficult at times to determine which is the dominant factor, politics or religion.

Bradford deals very gently with King James, whose antipathy to Puritans was strong and outspoken, and without whose support, the Bishops, holding their places at the will of the King, would not have dared to enter upon so violent a persecution of non-conformists. That he refused to accept the proposed canons of 1606, was an act of leniency more than off-set by the extravagant attack upon Puritans contained in his *Premonition to Monarchs*, composed in that year: "As I euer maintained the state of Bishops and the Ecclesiasticall Hierarchie for order sake; so was I euer an enemy to the confused Anarchie or paritie of the *Puritanes*, as wel appeareth in my ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ. . . . I cannot enough woonder with what brazen face this

and differing from the reformed churches, in Scotland, France, and the Neatherlands, Embden, Geneva, &c. whose Reformation is cut, or shapen much nerer the first Christian churches, as it was used in the Apostles times.[1] [6]

So many therfore (of these proffessors)[2] as saw the evill of these things (in thes parts,) and whose harts the Lord had touched with heavenly zeale for his trueth; they shooke of this yoake of Antichristian bondage. And as the Lords free people,[3] joyned them

Answerer [Bellarmine] could say, *That I was a Puritane in Scotland, and an enemy to Protestants:* I that was persecuted by Puritanes there, not from my birth only, but euer since foure moneths before my birth? I that in the yeere of God 84 erected Bishops, and depressed all their popular paritie, I then being not 18 yeeres of age? I that in my said Booke to my Sonne, do speak tenne times more bitterly of them nor of the Papists; haueing in my second Edition thereof affixed a long Apologetike Preface, only in *odium Puritanorum?* And I that for the space of sixe yeeres before my comming into England, laboured nothing so much as to depresse their *Paritie*, and re-erect Bishops againe? . . . And surely I give a faire commendation to the Puritanes in that place of my booke, when I affirme that I have found greater honesty with the high-land and border theeues, then with that sort of people."

[1] The reformed churche[s] shapen much neerer the primitive patterne *the*[*n*] *England*, for they cashered the Bishops with al their courts, cannons, and ceremoneis, at the first; and left them amongst the popishtr[ash] to which they pertained. — Bradford. The last word in the note is uncertain in the ms.

[2] "First I desire it may be observed by the reader how Mr. Bern[ard] stileth the worshipful personages, vnder the wing of whose protection he shrowdeth his papers *Christian Professors*. A title peculiar to some few in the land, which favour the forward preachers, frequent their sermons & advance the cause of reformatiō. Such persons are cōmonly called amongst themselves professors, vertuous and religious, & thereby distinguished frō the body of the land, which make no such profession, and are therefore accounted (and iustly) prophane, and without religion, and that as roundly by Mr. B. as by any other in the Land. But it seemeth he had forgot both his Epistle & whom both he in it, and others every where, call Professors for distinction sake, when he wrote his book; for in it he makes all the kingdome professors at a venture, and Christian professours I hope he meaneth." John Robinson, *A Justification of Separation*, 7.

[3] Barrow and Greenwood in one of their tracts describe a true church as a company of "faithful and holie people," having as its officers pastors, teachers, elders, deacons, and widows, who obtain their office "by the holy and free election of the Lordes holie and free people." While this formed the foundation of all separatist churches, the manner of exercising discipline produced the widest differences of opinion and led to the various descriptions of separatism.

CONSTITVTIONS AND CANONS *Eccleſiaſticall.*

Treated vpon by the Biſhop of *London*, Preſident of the Conuocation for the Prouince of Canterbury, and the reſt of the Biſhops and Clergie of the ſayd Prouince:

And agreed vpon with the Kings Maieſties Licence in their Synode begun at London Anno Dom. 1603. And in the yeere of the raigne of our Souereigne Lord Iames by the grace of God King of England, France and Ireland the firſt, and of Scotland the 37.

¶ *And now publiſhed for the due obſeruation of them by his* Maieſties authoritie, vnder the great Seale of England.

IMPRINTED AT LOMDON by *Robert Barker*, Printer to the Kings moſt Excellent Maieſtie.
ANNO, 1604.

selves (by a covenant of the Lord) into a church estate, in the felowship of the Gospell, to walke in all his wayes, made known, or to be made known unto them (according to their best endea[v]-ours) whatsoever it should cost them, the Lord assisting them.[1] And that it cost them something this ensewing historie will declare.[2]

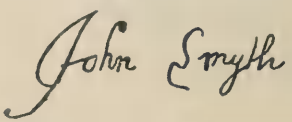
These people became ·2· distincte bodys or churches; and in regarde of distance of place did congregate severally; for they were of sundrie townes and vilages, some in Notingamshire,[3] some of Lincollinshire, and some of Yorkshire, wher they border nearest togeather. In one of these churches (besides others of note) was Mr. John Smith, a man of able gifts, and a good preacher; who afterwards was chosen their pastor. But these afterwards falling into some errours in the Low Countries, ther (for the most part) buried themselves, and their names.[4]

[1] These are undoubtedly the very words of the covenant of the Separatist churches — Johnson's, Ainsworth's, Jacob's, Robinson's and later at Plymouth. Dexter, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 386, 387.

[2] Some of these persecutions against members of the Scrooby congregation are given in Dexter, 391 *et seq.*

[3] "So going back to the ultimate facts, we say that the Pilgrim Movement originated in the Rectory and church of Babworth in Nottinghamshire; and that it was mainly a Nottinghamshire Movement. The West Riding of Yorkshire was not in it; except as Austerfield was the home of Governor W. Bradford: but he, during the period now under review, was merely a child growing to youthhood. Lincolnshire, through the Congregation at Gainsborough, temporarily furthered the Movement during the years 1606–1608: but this was merely an accidental help, occasioned by the coming to that town of the Rev. John Smyth. In the main, Nottinghamshire men founded the Pilgrim Church." Arber, *Story of the Pilgrim Fathers*, 51.

[4] John Smith (or Smyth), of Christ's College, Cambridge, was ordained a clergyman by the Bishop of Lincoln after 1584, and preached or lectured in the city of Lincoln from 1603 to 1605. In the latter year he separated from the established church, and began a separatist congregation at Gainsborough, where he was known to William Brewster, and suggested the lines on which the "gathered church" meeting at Brewster's residence, Scrooby Manor, Nottinghamshire, was formed. He removed with his wife, children, and congregation, to Amsterdam, in August, 1608, and set up the Second English Church at Amsterdam. The differences in the English congregation at





MAP OF THE SCROOBY REGION

But in this other church (which must be the subjecte of our discourse) besides other worthy men, was Mr. Richard Clifton, a grave and reverend preacher, who by his paines and dilligens had done much good, and under god had ben a means of the conversion of many. And also that famous and worthy man Mr. John Robinson, who affterwards was their pastor for many years, till the Lord tooke him away by death. Also Mr. William Brewster a reverent man, who afterwards was chosen an Elder of the church and lived with them till old age.[1]

But after these things; they could not long continue in any peaceable condition; but were hunted and persecuted on every side, so as their former afflictions were but as flea-bitings in comparison of these which now came upon them. For some were taken and clapt

that place were aggravated by his arrival, and his restless and changeable opinions led him to embrace Arminianism. Baptizing himself, whence his title of Se-baptist, and some forty others, he again vacillated in belief, quarrelled with his brethren, and when he and his followers were excommunicated, before March 2/12, 1609, they sought to go over to the Mennonites, who refused to receive them. After this they held their meetings in a room in the rear of Jan Munter's "great cake-house;" he practised physic and died of consumption in 1612. See *Dictionary of National Biography*, LIII. 68; Dexter, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 442, 446; Arber, *The Story of the Pilgrim Fathers*, 131. Smyth's church views at Gainsborough are in Dexter (as above), 381, and were not on the lines of the "Holy Discipline," but of an original character. Bradford has a brief account of Smyth in his *Dialogue*.

Nathaniel Morton, nephew and probably possessor of the papers of William Bradford, states that Smyth's church was begun in 1602. Prince adds this comment: "I suppose he [Morton] had the account, either from some other writings of Governour Bradford, or the Journals of Governour Winslow, or from oral conference with them, or other of the first planters; with some of whom he was contemporary, and from whence, he tells us, he received his Intelligence." *New Englands Memoriall*, 1; *Annals*, 1. 4.

[1] Clyfton remained rector at Babworth certainly till after 1598. "Then Clyfton and Brewster continued to work on for the spiritual enlightenment of the district, probably also now working together, until about 1604, when the Rev. John Robinson, another Nottinghamshire man and also a Cambridge Graduate, came north from Norwich. . . The church at Scrooby was not formally organized till 1606: when the late Rector of Babworth became its Pastor, and the Rev. John Robinson became his Assistant." Arber, *Story of the Pilgrim Fathers*, 54. Bradford gives a brief mention of Clyfton in his *Dialogue*.

up in prison, others had their houses besett and watcht night and day, and hardly escaped their hands; and the most were faine to flie and leave their howses and habitations, and the means of their livelehood. Yet these and many other sharper things which affterward befell them, were no other then they looked for, and therfore were the better prepared to bear them by the assistance of Gods grace and spirite; yet seeing them selves thus molested, [7] and that ther was no hope of their continuance ther, by a joynte consente they resolved to goe into the Low-Countries,[1] wher they heard was freedome of Religion for all men; as also how sundrie from London, and other parts of the land had been exiled and persecuted for the same cause, and were gone thither; and lived at Amsterdam, and in other places of the land.[2] So affter they had continued togeither

[1] The Low Lands (Pays Bas) were the territory of the archdukes, and in 1608 did not enjoy religious freedom, and had not for many years, the Catholic church being the recognized church. After the truce of 1609 the Catholic counter reformation was so vigorously carried on in that realm that heresy almost disappeared. Bradford uses the term Low Countries in a more general meaning. See p. 36, *infra*.

[2] This movement of the persecuted to Holland began soon after the executions of Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry, in 1593. Johnson reached Amsterdam in the autumn of 1597, and in that short interval of four years the earlier immigrants appear to have been so embroiled with the Reformed churches of Holland, as to be obliged to seek shelter outside of Amsterdam, at Kampen and at Naarden. It is supposed that in their reforming zeal they wrote "libels and scandalous attacks" upon those churches, and so incurred the penalty of banishment. Dexter, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 422, 427.

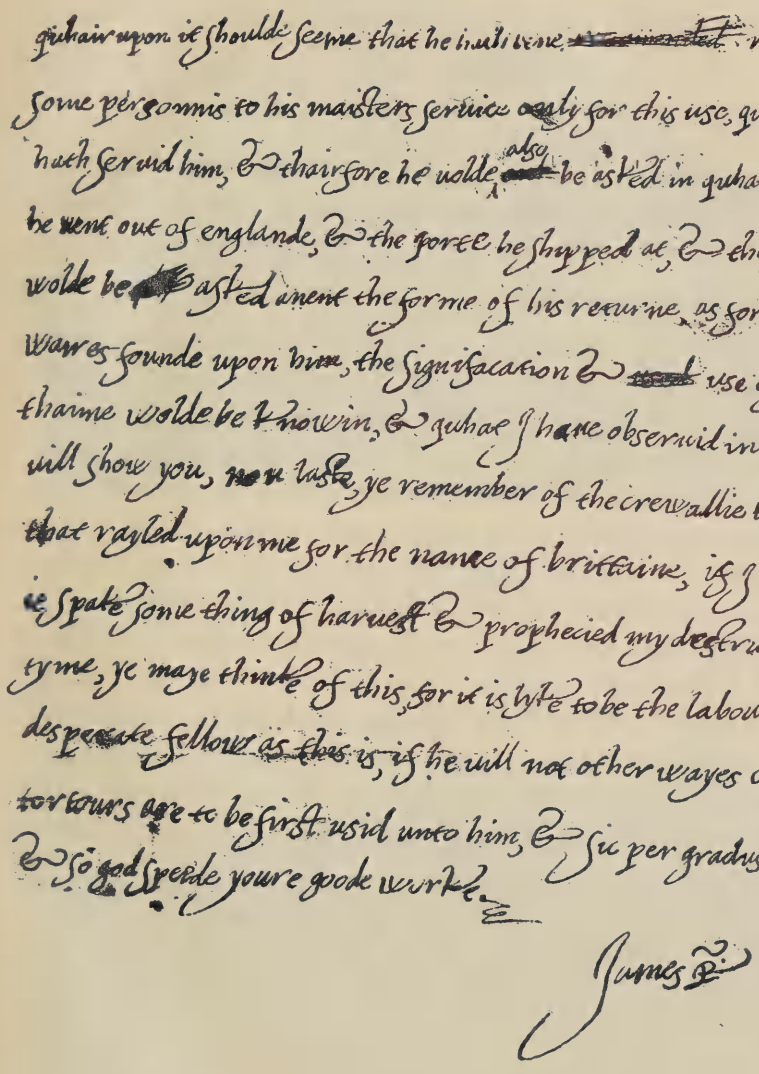
Since 1569 the States-General allowed liberty of conscience to both the Reformed and the Roman Catholic, and since 1578 freedom of worship for all, even for the Anabaptists, was the policy of Amsterdam. As the protestants were good handicraftsmen and very industrious in manufactures, the cities gained by this toleration. Amsterdam was an "University of all Religions; . . . its the Fair of all the Sects; . . . their Republick is more to them than Heaven; and God may be more safely offended there than the States-General." *Dutch Drawn to the Life* (1664), 48.

"I confesse that *Holland* hath been a cage to these unclean birds [Separatists and others], but the reason is evident, the civil State there walking in the corrupt principles of carnall Policy, which cannot be blessed with finall successe, doth impede the exercise of Church Discipline in its most principall parts; these last fourty years that Land hath not been permitted to enjoy more General Assemblies then one [Dort,

aboute a year, and kept their meetings every Saboth, in one place, or other, exercising the worship of God amongst them selves, notwithstanding all the dilligence and malice of their adverssaries, they seeing they could no longer continue in that condition, they resolved to get over into Holland as they could. Which was in the year · 1607 · and · 1608 · of which more at large in the next chap[ter].

1618–19], and how great Service that one did towards the purging of the much corrupted Church, and calming the greatly disturbed State, all their friends in *Europe* did see and congratulate, while their foes did grieve and envy it." Baylie, *Dissvasive from the Errours of the Time*, 8.

Scaliger, who wrote a few years before the religious refugees came from England, rather frowned upon the excessive freedom allowed. "In this country, as in Venice, everything is allowed, provided that nothing is done or said against the government. They tolerate all sorts of people here except Antitrinitarians: these were suffered here for a certain time, but were expelled by the Orders. There are good people in Holland; but there is not a country in the world in greater need of Divine Chastisements." *Scaligerana* (ed. 1695), 197. Brereton, some twenty-six years later recorded, that no man was persecuted for religion, nor scoffed at, be he never so zealous. *Travels*, 70.



LETTER OF KING JAMES I

·2· Chapter

Of their departure into Holland and their troubles ther aboute, with some of the many difficulties they found and mete with-all.

Anno 1608.

BEING thus constrained to leave their native soyle and countrie, their lands and livings, and all their freinds, and famillier aquaintance, it was much; and thought marvelous by many. But to goe into a countrie they knew not (but by hearsay) wher they must learne a new language, and get their livings they knew not how, it being a dear place, and subjecte to the misseries of warr, it was by many thought an adventure almost desperate, a case intolerable, and a misserie worse then death. Espetially seeing they were not aquainted with trades nor traffique (by which that countrie doth subsiste) but had only been used to a plaine countrie life, and the inocente trade of husbandrey.[1] But these things did not dismay them (though they did some times trouble them) for their desires were sett on the ways of god, and to injoye his ordinances; but they rested on his providence, and

[1] An examination of the Puiboken der Stadt, 1567–1617, in the Amsterdam archives gave marriages and occupations of one hundred and eighteen English residents in that city. The callings are summarized in Dexter (*The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 431). It is conjectured that the earlier migration, coming from London and its vicinity, contained a larger proportion of artisans than did the later migrations under Smyth and Clyfton. Of the Pilgrims Dexter says: "Not many were of 'gentle blood.' Few seem to have been land owners. They had not even that expansion of the faculties apt to be bred by the aims and risks of commerce. In the main they were plain farmers whose names, excepting in a line or two upon the parish parchments at birth, marriage and burial, seldom went upon record. Hence the difficulty, after three hundred years, of identifying them precisely." *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 379.



ST. HELEN'S CHURCH, AUSTERFIELD



ST. HELEN'S CHURCH, AUSTERFIELD (AFTER RESTORATION)

By the King.

A Proclamation touching Paſſengers.

WHereas in the firſt Seſsion of our Parliament holden at Weſtminſter the nineteenth day of March in the yeere of our raigne of England, France and Ireland the firſt, and of Scotland the ſeuen and thirtieth; It was amongſt other things Enacted, That no woman nor any childe vnder the age of one and twenty yeeres (Except Saylers or Shipboyes or Apprentice, or Factor of ſome Merchant in trade of Merchandize) ſhould bee permitted to paſſe ouer the Seas, except the ſame ſhould be by licence of vs, our heires or Succeſſors, or ſome fiue or more of our priuy Councell, thereunto firſt had vnder their handes, vpon paine that the Officers of the Port that ſhould willingly or negligently ſuffer any ſuch to paſſe, or ſhould not enter the names of ſuch Paſſengers licenced, ſhould forfeit his Office, and all his goods and Chattels, And vpon paine that the owner of any Ship or Veſſell, that ſhould wittingly or willingly carry any ſuch ouer the Seas, without licence as is aforeſaid, ſhould forfeit his Ship or Veſſell, and all the Tackle, And euery Maſter or Mariner, of or in any ſuch Ship or Veſſell, offending as is aforeſaid, ſhould forfeit all their goods, and ſuffer impriſonment by the ſpace of twelue moneths without Baile, or Mainprize, As by the ſaide Acte of Parliament amongſt other things may more at large appeare:

And whereas many ſuch our Subiects, That is to ſay, Women and perſons vnder the age of twenty and one yeeres, haue from time to time iuſt and neceſſary cauſes and occaſions to goe and paſſe ouer the Seas, In which caſes for euery ſuch Women and perſons vnder the age of twenty and one yeeres to obteine ſuch licence, either from our ſelues, or from ſome of our ſaid priuy Counſel according to the ſaid Law, is very inconuenient, and almoſt impoſſible; We haue therefore thought conuenient, for the eaſe aſwell of our ſelfe and our ſaid Counſell, as of ſuch of our Subiects as are of the condition mentioned in the ſaide Acte of Parliament, to graunt our Commiſſion to perſons of truſt in certaine Ports of our Realme, lying moſt apt and conuenient for paſſage, That is to ſay, London, the Cinque Ports, Harwich, Yarmouth, Hull, and Waymouth, to licence ſuch Women and perſons vnder the age of twenty and one yeeres, as ſhall haue iuſt cauſe to paſſe out of our Realme, vpon due examination had of them, to paſſe without perill to themſelues, or the Officers of our ſaid Ports, Notwithſtanding the ſaid Statute or any thing therein contained. And we haue thought it fit to giue publique knowledge hereof to al our Subiects, and to all our Officers whom it may concerne, to the ende they may know what ſhall bee lawfull for them to doe in thoſe caſes.

Giuen at the Caſtle of Farneham the xxiij. day of Auguſt, in the fourth yeere of of our Reigne of Great Britaine, France and Ireland.

God ſaue the King.

Imprinted at London by Robert Barker,
Printer to the Kings moſt Excellent Maieſtie. 1606.

knew whom they had beleeved.[1] Yet [8] this was not all, for though they could not stay, yet were they[2] not suffered to goe, but the ports, and havens were shut against them, so as they were faine to seeke secrete means of conveance, and to bribe and fee the mariners, and give exterordinarie rates for their passages.[3] And yet were they often times betrayed (many of them) and both they and their goods intercepted and surprised, and therby put to great trouble, and charge, of which I will give an instance or tow, and omitte the rest.

Ther was a large companie of them purposed to get passage at Boston in Lincolin-shire,[4] and for that end, had hired a shipe wholy

[1] II Timothy, I. 12. "For I know whom I have believed, and I am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day."

[2] Bradford wrote " ye."

[3] The regulation of migration out of the kingdom had changed with the varying policy towards the Roman Catholics or with the engagements made with foreign rulers. August 23, 1606, a proclamation required licenses to women and children under twenty-one years of age to cross the seas, a measure intended to control the flight of Catholics. An oath of allegiance was required of all regardless of sex, so migrating; and as the Pope (Paul V.) by a Bull issued September 12 of the same year, prohibited English Catholics from taking an oath of allegiance, the intention of the measure becomes clear. That it succeeded in accomplishing its purpose is not certain, and so drastic a rule would interfere with the passage of settlers to the newly opened possessions of England in America. Unwilling to throw the ports open, and wishing to retain some power of regulation, the King issued a proclamation on July 9, 1607, reciting that the Statute of 5 Rich. II. forbidding all persons save lords, true and notable merchants, and the King's soldiers to leave the realm, having been repealed last session of Parliament, the King forbids, in accordance with precedents of Edward I and Edward III, any to leave the Kingdom other than soldiers, merchants, mariners, and their factors and apprentices, without special license of the King or four of his Privy Council. This naturally proved unsatisfactory, and the Council on December 8, 1608, issued instructions for the better governance of the passage, requiring all persons to be examined and registered, and restricting the privilege of sailing to certain ports. Such were the conditions when the Pilgrims of Nottinghamshire determined to leave the country.

[4] T. Gentleman thus described Boston in 1609: "A very proper town; and like unto Holland's soil, for low ground and sands coming in: but yet there are but few fishermen." *England's Way to win Wealth.* In Arber, *An English Garner,* I. 341.

By the King.

WHereas at a Parliament holden at Weſtminſter in the fift yeere of King Richard the ſecond, the King defended the paſſage vtterly of all maner of people, aſwell Clearks as others in euery port, and other Towne and place vpon the coaſt of the Sea, vpon paine of forfeiture of all their goods, except onely the Lords and other great men of the Realme, and true and notable Merchants, and the Kings Souldiers; And further prohibited diuers other things vpon paine that the offenders ſhould forfeit, as much as they might forfeit, as by the ſaid Act appeareth: Which Statute was ſeldome or neuer (eſpecially of late) put in execution, for that it was in ſome caſes too rigorous, in others very darke and obſcure, and now, foraſmuch as concerneth the paſſage of the Engliſh Subiects into the kingdome of Scotland, become voyd and extinct in reſpect of the happy Union of both Kingdomes vnder one Soueraigne: His moſt Excellent Maieſtie (preferring allwayes the tranquillitie of his louing Subiects, before ſuch and ſo great aduantage as he might reape by recouery of ſuch penalties) hath not onely ſuffered that particular branch of the Statute aforeſaid to fall to the ground, (the continuation whereof were both vniuſt, and an apparant marke of ſeparation) but hath bene content, beſides that particular clauſe which was included in the Acte paſſed at the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, for abolifhing of Hoſtilitie, and the memory of all things that depend thereon, to aſſent (in fauour of the Subiect) to repeale the Whole Statute it ſelfe of Richard the ſecond. And yet his Maieſtie (whoſe care doeth euer watch ouer the Weale of his Subiects) conſidering that the principall duetie and allegiance of all his Subiects, doeth chiefly conſiſt to attend at all times the ſeruice and defence of their natural Liege Lord, and of their deare and native Countrey, with all cheerefull readineſſe and alacritie, either within the Realme, or without, when they ſhall be thereunto required: And foreſeeing in his Princely prouidence and Wiſedome what danger (eſpecially in theſe dangerous dayes) might inſue to the whole State, if his Subiects might at their pleaſure paſſe and depart out of this Realme into the Kingdomes, Countreys, Dommions and Territories of forreine Kings, Princes, States and Potentates, hath vpon mature deliberation prouided remedy for the preuention of ſuch miſchiefe as might follow thereupon: And therefore his Maieſty doeth (according to his Maieſties Lawes and the reſolution of his Iudges, With whom conſultation hath beene had, and agreeable to diuers Preſidents in the reignes of King Edward the firſt, and King Edward the thirde (two moſt prudent and renowmed Kings) and other of his noble Progenitours before the making of the ſayd late Acte by theſe preſents With the aduice of his Priuie Councell,) ſtraightly prohibite and forbid all maner of perſons being naturall borne Subiects of this Realme, or any of the Dominions of the ſame, of what eſtate or degree ſoeuer they bee, that they or any of them (other then ſuch perſons as were excepted in and by the ſayd Acte, and other then Souldiers, Merchants, Mariners, and their Factors and Apprentices) ſhall not any time hereafter Without ſpeciall licence of his Maieſty, or of any foure or more of his Priuie Councell (Whereof the Principall Secretary for the time being to be one) paſſe or depart out of this Realme of England, or any of the

dominions of the same, into the Kingdomes, Countreyes, Territories or Dominions of any forreine King, Prince, State, or Potentate, vpon such corporall and other great and heauy paines and penalties as by our Lawes may be inflicted vpon such as shall offend therein, for their so heinous and vnnaturall offentes against their naturall Liege Lord and Countrey in that behalfe.

Prouided allwayes, that if any of the persons before excepted, shall after his departure out of this Realme, doe, commit, put in vre, attempt, or assent vnto any Act, deuice, plot, or thing against his most Excellent Maiesty, or any of his Kingdomes or Dominions, or against any of his Lawes or Statutes, that euery such person so offending, shall lose the benefite of the sayd exception, and shall to all intents and purposes be taken and adiudged to bee as one that maliciously and contemptuously passeth or departeth out of this Realme contrary to the tenor and effect of these Presents.

And whereas by errour and vulgar opinion it is conceiued and giuen out by some, That all men at this present be at liberty to transport and carrie out of this Realme any Golde or Siluer in Coyne, Jewels, Bullion, Plate, or Vessell, his Maiestie vnderstanding thereof, caused the Judges of the Realme to be consulted withall in that poynt: who vpon due consideration and conference had amongst them, haue with one consent resolued, that the transportation of all manner of Golde and Siluer in Coyne, Jewels, Bullion, Plate or Vessell is absolutely prohibited and forbidden as well by the Statutes in the twentieth yeere of King Edward the first, in the ninth yeere of King Edward the third, and in the second yeere of King Henry the first, as by diuers other Statutes vpon great and grieuous penalties and forfeitures. Vpon signification of which resolution, his most excellent Maiestie, to the intent that none of his louing Subiects through any erroneous conceit or opinion might be deceiued and indammaged, hath in his Princely clemencie caused aswell the sayd resolution of his Judges, as the Statutes themselues to be particularized and published for the safety of his louing Subiects: And further doeth by these Presents straightly charge and command that all the sayd Lawes and Statutes concerning Transportation of Golde or Siluer bee firmely holden, and kept and put in due execution. And doth further prohibit and forbid all and all maner of persons whatsoeuer, to cary or transport out of this Realme any Gold or Siluer in Coyne, Jewels, Bullion, Plate, or Vessell, contrary to any of the said Lawes or Statutes, as they will answere the contrary at their vttermost perill.

Giuen at our Palace of Westminster the ninth day of Iuly, in the fifth yeere of our Reigne of Great Britaine, France and Ireland.

God saue the King.

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ANNO DOM. 1607.

to them selves; and made agreement with the maister to be ready at a certaine day, and take them, and their goods in, at a conveniente place, wher they accordingly would all attende in readines. So after long waiting, and large expences (though he kepte not day with them) yet he came at length and tooke them in, in the night; But when he had them and their goods abord, he betrayed them, haveing before hand complotted with the serchers, and other officers so to doe. Who tooke them, and put them into open boats, and ther rifled and ransaked them, searching them to their shirts for money, yea even the women furder then became modestie; and then caried them back into the towne, and made them a spectackle, and wonder to the multitude, which came flocking on all sides to behould them. Being thus first, by the chatchpoule[1] officers, rifled, and stripte of their money, books, and much other goods; they were presented to the majestrates, and messengers sente to informe the lords of the Counsell of them; and so they were commited to ward. Indeed the majestrats used them courteously, and shewed them what favour they could; but could not deliver them, till order came from the Counsell-table. But the issue was that after a months imprisonmente, the greatest parte were dismiste, and sent to the places from whence they came; but ·7· of the principall were still kept in prison, and bound over to the Assises.[2]

The nexte spring after, ther was another attempte made by some

[1] A word of Provençal origin, meaning one who hunts or chases fowls; in time it was applied to a tax-gatherer, and later to a sheriff's officer. In Bradford's day it had become a word of contempt.

[2] Among the seven was William Brewster. See under 1643, *infra*. As Brewster received pay as postmaster at Scrooby up to the last day of September, 1607, this attempt to reach Holland must have occurred after that time. Arber (86) conjectures it was in October or November of that year. Boston is about sixty-seven miles to the east of Scrooby. The river Idle is navigable for small boats from Scaftworth, one mile east of Scrooby, to the Trent, and thus Gainsborough could be reached. From that place to Boston is fifty-five miles by the river Witham. The assizes were sessions held periodically in each county of England, for the purpose of administering civil and criminal justice, by judges acting under special commissions.

of these and others; to get over at an other place. And it so fell out, that they light of a Dutchman at Hull, having a ship of his owne belonging to Zealand; they made agreemente with him, and aquaint[9]ed him with their condition, hoping to find more faithfull-ne[ss] in him, then in the former of their owne nation; he bad them not fear, for he would doe well enough. He was (by appointment) to take them in betweene Grimsbe, and Hull, wher was a large commone a good way distante from any towne.[1] Now against the prefixed time, the women and children, with the goods, were sent to the place in a small barke, which they had hired for that end; and the men were to meete them by land. But it so fell out, that they were ther a day before the shipe came, and the sea being rough, and the women very sicke, prevailed with the seamen to put into a creeke hardby, where they lay on ground at low-water. The nexte morning the shipe came, but they were fast, and could not stir, till aboute noone; In the mean time (the shipe maister, perceiveing how the matter was) sente his boate to be getting the men abord whom he saw ready, walking aboute the shore. But after the first boat full was gott abord, and she was ready to goe for more, the mr. espied a greate company (both horse, and foote) with bills,[2] and gunes, and other weapons (for the countrie was raised to take them).

[1] Arber says, "Local opinion would seem to favor East Halton Skitter haven, in Lat. 53°, 41′, 30″; because that is the only break in the specified coast line of Lincolnshire viz. between Hull and Great Grimsby: from which latter place it is distant some twenty miles." The bark with the women would thus have floated down the Trent, thirty miles, and then some twenty miles or so along the coast; the men, coming from West Stockwith, would walk forty miles. *Story of the Pilgrim Fathers*, 94. Dexter believes Stallingborough, about four miles north of Grimsby, meets the conditions best. *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 405. The party doubtless sailed by the Idle River to the Humber, where they took the bark. "It is thirty miles from Gainsborough to the mouth of the Trent; twenty-two miles from thence, to Hull; and twenty miles from Hull to Great Grimsby." Arber, 94.

[2] A bill varied in form from a simple concave blade with a long handle, to a kind of concave axe with a spike at the back and its shaft terminating in a spear-head. Now obsolete, in the seventeenth century it was used by the infantry and by constables of the watch.



EAST COAST OF ENGLAND

The Dutch-man seeing that, swore (his countries oath), sacremente; and having the wind faire, waiged his Ancor, hoysed sayles, and away. But the poore-men which were gott abord, were in great distress for their wives, and children, which they saw thus to be taken, and were left destitute of their helps; and them selves also, not having a cloath to shifte them with, more then they had on their baks, and some scarce a peney aboute them, all they had being abord the barke. It drew tears from their eyes, and any thing they had they would have given to have been a shore againe; but all in vaine, ther was no remedy; they must thus sadly part. And afterward endured a fearfull storme at sea, being · 14 · days or more before they arived at their porte, in ·7· wherof they neither saw son, moone, nor stars, and were driven near the coast of Norway; the mariners them selves often despairing of life; and once with shriks and cries gave over all, as if the ship had been foundred in the sea, and they sinking without recoverie. But when mans hope, and helpe wholy failed, the lords power and mercie appeared in ther recoverie; for the ship rose againe, and gave the mariners courage againe to manage here. And if modestie would suffer me, I might declare with what fer[10]vente prayres they cried unto the lord in this great distres, (espetialy some of them) even without any great distraction when the water rane into their mouthes and ears; and the mariners cried out we sinke, we sinke; they cried (if not with mirakelous, yet with a great hight or degree of devine faith) yet Lord thou canst save; yet Lord thou canst save; with shuch other expressions as I will forbeare. Upon which the ship did not only recover, but shortly after the violence of the storme begane to abate; and the lord filed their afflicted minds with shuch comforts as every one cannot understand. And in the end brought them to their desired Haven, wher the people came flockeing admiring their deliverance, the storme having ben so longe and sore, in which much hurt had been don, as the masters freinds related unto him in their congrattulations.

But to returne to the others wher we left. The rest of the men that were in greatest danger, made shift to escape away before the troope could surprise them; those only staying that best might, to be assistante unto the women. But pitifull it was to see the heavie case of these poore women in this distress; what weeping and crying on every side, some for their husbands, that were caried away in the ship as is before related. Others not knowing what should become of them, and their litle ones; others againe melted in teares, seeing their poore litle ones hanging aboute them, crying for feare, and quaking with could. Being thus aprehended, they were hurried from one place to another, and from one justice to another, till in the ende they knew not what to doe with them; for to imprison so many women and innocent children for no other cause (many of them) but that they must goe with their husbands; semed to be unreasonable, and all would crie out of them; and to send them home againe was as difficult, for they aledged (as the trueth was) they had no homes to goe to, for they had either sould, or otherwise disposed of their houses, and livings. To be shorte, after they had been thus turmoyled a good while, and conveyed from one constable to another, they were glad to be ridd of them in the end upon any termes; for all were wearied and tired with them.[1] Though in the mean time, they (poore soules) indured miserie enough; and thus in the end necessitie forste a way for them.

But that I be not tedious in these things, I will omitte the rest, though I might relate many other notable passages, and troubles which they endured, and underwente in these their wanderings, and travells both at land, and sea;[2] but I hast to [11] other things.

[1] This procedure appears to have been conducted under the poor law, and not under any act against non-conformity or for violation of a law or proclamation upon migration. Each parish became chargeable for the "vagrants" or homeless it contained, and the parish officers were anxious to pass such persons on to their neighbors, and so be relieved of the necessity of caring for them. See Leonard, *Early History of the English Poor Relief* (1900).

[2] The year 1608 was one of extreme dearth, "by reason of extreme frosts (as the like

By the King.

¶ A Proclamation for the preuenting and *remedying of the dearth of Graine, and other Victuals.*

THe Kings Maieſtie hauing taken knowledge of the high prices of Graine and other Victuals, lately and very ſuddenly growen in ſundry parts of this Realme, And finding no ſufficient reaſon thereof, doeth iudge that the rich Owners of Corne doe keepe their ſtore from common Markets, thereby to encreaſe the prices thereof, Or elſe that the ſame is engroſſed vnduely into few hands, and ſo the multitude of poore people hauing no Graine of their owne growing, muſt needes ſuſtaine great lacke. His Highneſſe therefore for remedy thereof, hath cauſed ſpecial Orders to be made and publiſhed through all parts of this Realme, bearing date the firſt day of June 1608, and Intituled, Orders appointed by his Maieſtie, &c. By which the Juſtices of Peace in all parts of the Realme, are directed to ſtay all Engroſſers, Foreſtallers and Regrators of Corne, and to direct all Owners and Farmers, (hauing Corne to ſpare) to furniſh the Markets rateably and weekely, with ſuch quantities as reaſonably they may and ought to doe, and to ſee diuers other Articles obſerued and performed, tending to the preuention and remedy of this inconuenience. Neuertheleſſe, becauſe his Maieſtie doeth well know, that the life of theſe his gracious, godly, and politique Conſtitutions, depends vpon the carefull and diligent Execution of the ſame: his Highneſſe doeth therefore by this his Proclamation (to the ende that no perſon whom it may concerne, ſhall or may pleade ignorance) ſtraightly charge and command all Sheriffes, Juſtices of Peace, Maiors, Bayliffes, Conſtables, and other his Officers and Subiects whatſoeuer, That they take knowledge of the ſaid Orders, and obſerue and cauſe the ſame to be obſerued, as ſhall appertaine vnto them, as they tender his diſpleaſure.

And becauſe there may be iuſt cauſe to feare, that notwithſtanding all the ſtraight Prouiſions that are lately taken againſt Tranſportation of Graine, yet vnder colour of conueying of it from Port to Port within the land, ſome may be conueyed into forraine parts: Therefore for further prouiſion in that behalfe, beſides the Bonds in that caſe appointed to be taken, His Maieſtie commandeth and giueth Licence to any perſon that ſhall haue cauſe to ſuſpect that any ſuch Corne is or ſhould be ſhipped, or prouided to be ſhipped by lawfull Authoritie to be caried to any other Port, that the ſame may be by fraud caried out of the Realme; ſuch perſon hauing ſuch cauſe to ſuſpect, ſhall giue Information thereof to any Juſtice of Peace, or publique Officer dwelling neere to the Port, which Juſtice or Officer ſhall with the ſaid Informer, repaire to the Cuſtome houſe of any ſuch Port or Creeke where Corne is ſhipped, or prouided to be ſhipped, and there ſhall duely examine both the Officers of the Cuſtome houſe, and the ſellers, buyers, and ſhippers of the Corne vpon their ſeuerall Oathes, whether they know of any Intention directly, or indirectly, to haue the ſaid Corne to be caried out of the Realme. And further alſo, when by their Oathes they ſhal cleare themſelues of any ſuch intention (thereby the ſuſpition conceiued being cleared) yet the Officers of the Ports that haue authority to take Bonds, ſhall ſhew the parties, who vpon pregnant ſuſpition ſhall require the ſame, and giue them in

writing the contents of the Bond, with the names of the parties bound, being ſufficient to anſwere the ſame, the true quantitie of the Graine, and the Ports to which it is intended to haue the ſame carried: And if notwithſtanding ſuch prouiſion of good aſſurance taken, there ſhall afterwards any doubt followe, that notwithſtanding the ſaid Bonds the ſaid Corne ſhalbe caried out of the Realme, The party that ſhall haue cauſe ſo to ſuſpect the ſame, ſhall repaire to ſome Juſtice of Peace, whom his Maieſtie doeth hereby command to examine the trueth at the Port whereunto the ſaid Corne was appointed. And for that purpoſe the Officers of that Port ſhall make plaine declaration whether any ſuch Corne, or what quantitie thereof came to that Port within the time limitted; And if by good proofe it ſhall any Wayes appeare, that there hath bene any fraud in any Officer of the Port, or falſhood in the Tranſporter by carying it out of the Realme, the Officer of the Port ſhalbe depriued of his Office, and ſuffer impriſonment, and make Fine to his Maieſtie at his pleaſure; And the Tranſporter for carying it out of the Realme, and the Seller and Buyer, or either of them being priuie thereto, ſhall bee committed to priſon for the ſpace of one yeere, and the Ship forfeited; And the Informer for his labour and reward, ſhall haue both the halfe of the value of the Corne Tranſported, and the halfe of the Fines impoſed vpon the Offenders. And for the triall of theſe Offences, and execution of the puniſhments and Fines, the ſame ſhalbe tried in his Maieſties Exchequer, as all Informations are vpon penall Statutes, where all expedition ſhalbe vſed, or before the Juſtices of Aſſiſe in their Circuits, or before any Juſtices of Peace in the Seſſions where the offence ſhalbe committed, hauing any authoritie to heare and determine any penall Law.

Finally, his Maieſtie is particularly informed of ſome intentions of ſundry perſons of abilitie to keepe Hoſpitalitie in their Countreys, to leaue their Hoſpitalities, and to come to the City of London, and other Cities and Townes corporate, thereby leauing the reliefe of their poore neighbours, as well for food, as for good Rule, and with couetous mindes to liue in London, and about the City priuately, and ſo alſo in other Townes corporate, without charge of company. For withſtanding whereof, his Maieſtie chargeth all manner of perſons, that ſhall haue any ſuch intention during the time of this Dearth, not to breake vp their houſeholds, nor to come to the ſaid City, or other Townes corporate, And all others that haue of late time broken vp their houſeholds, to returne to their houſes againe without delay. Of the performance and execution of which his Maieſties Orders, It is his Highneſſe pleaſure that the Juſtices do make certificate vpon all occaſions to his Maieſties Priuie Councell, and more particularly for his Highneſſe better ſatisfaction, what price Corne and Victuals doe beare.

Giuen at our Mannour of Oatlands the ſecond day of Iune, in the ſixt yeere of our Reigne of great Britaine, France and Ireland.

God ſaue the King.

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Yet I may not omitte the fruite that came heerby, for by these so publick troubles; in so many eminente places, their cause became famouss, and occasioned many to looke into the same; and their godly cariage and christian behaviour was shuch as left a deep Impression in the minds of many. And though some few shrunk, at these first conflicts, and sharp beginings (as it was no marvell) yet many more came on, with fresh courage, and greatly animated others. And in the end, notwithstanding all these stormes of opposicion, they all gat over at length, some at one time, and some at an other, and some in one place, and some in an other, And mete togeather againe according to their desires, with no small rejoycing.[1]

were never seen) the winter going before, which caused much corn to fall away." In May license was given to import, duty free and during pleasure, all manner of corn and grain; and in June a royal proclamation was issued for preventing and remedying the dearth of grain and other victuals.

[1] Dexter estimates the number reaching Amsterdam at not less than one hundred and twenty-five. "Clyfton probably was their teacher. Robinson surely was their pastor. Presumably they had no elder." *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 449.

In his *Of Religious Communion, Private and Public*, printed in 1614, Robinson devotes a chapter (III.) to the question of "flight in persecution." In it he writes: "If we principally sought our earthly good, or safety, why did we not abide at home, or why return we not thither, applying ourselves to the times, as so many thousands do? that I may not allege, that by seeking such a kingdom of heaven, or church, as out of which we should throw our children, as he [Thomas Helwisse] hath done, which we might do safely enough, if without sin, we could procure to ourselves much more earthly help and furtherance, in the country where we live, as he knew well. And for drawing over the people, I know none of the guides, but were as much drawn over by them, as drawing them. The truth is, it was Mr. Helwisse, who above all, either guides or others, furthered this passage into strange countries: and if any brought oars, he brought sails, as I could show in many particulars, and as all that were acquainted with the manner of our coming over, can witness with me. . . . As we, then, shall perceive either our flying or abiding to be most for God's glory and the good of men, especially of our family and those nearest unto us, and for our own furtherance in holiness; and as we have strength to wade through the dangers of persecutions, so we with good conscience to use the one or other, which, our hope and comfort also is, we have done in these our days of sorrow; some of us coming over by banishment, and others otherwise." *Works*, III. 159, 164.

.3. Chapter

Of their setling in Holand, and their maner of living, and entertainmente ther.

BEING now come into the Low countries,[1] they saw many goodly and fortified cities, strongly walled and garded with tropes of armed men. Also they heard a strange,

[1] In this history the Low Provinces mean the two provinces of Holland and Zeeland. South of the Scheldt, the land had been so harried and overrun by the contending armies, and the influence of Spain was still so strongly felt, that a speedy recovery from the devastation was hardly to be expected. North of the Scheldt the situation was entirely different, in spite of a war of thirty years' duration. The wealth and enterprise of the southern provinces had sought and found a refuge in the northern, and Holland and Zeeland contained the trading cities of the world, furnishing the carrying trade even for their enemies, the Spaniards. The corn trade of the Baltic, the timber commerce of western Europe and the cloth industry formerly belonging to Flanders, centred in Holland. So profitable was the Dutch commerce in a time of war, owing to their command of the sea, that peace was opposed, lest it should put an end to the wealth that poured into the country, and enabled it to support the taxation and expenses of war. Amsterdam, the great commercial city of Europe, had a population of about 100,000 souls, and from its wharves sailed the fleets of merchant vessels, forty on the route to the Indies, and eight hundred, twice a year, to the Baltic. Trade had become the passion of the Dutch, and their battles were fought by mercenaries, paid from the profits of trade. The Levant, the East Indies, and finally America, came within their activity for commerce and discovery. It was the offer in 1614 of a commercial monopoly of forty years for newly discovered passages, ports or lands, that led to the formation of the New Netherland Company, and the Dutch settlement on the island of Manhattan.

In 1609 Overbury reported that in Holland "no one is extraordinarily rich and few are very poor." The people were generally prosperous; but Amsterdam suffered in its location. In 1634, Brereton found it "a most flourishing city, which maintains as great a trade as any city in Christendom, yet most inconveniently seated in many respects, the air so corrupt and unwholesome, especially in winter-time, when most part of the country round about overflowed. Here no fresh-water, no water to brew withal, but what is fetched from Weesoppe [Weesp], six English miles distant. Hence they have



HOLLAND, SHOWING AMSTERDAM, LEYDEN, AND DELFTSHAVEN

and uncouth language, and beheld the differente manners, and custumes of the people, with their strange fashons, and attires; all so farre differing from that of their plaine countrie villages (wherin they were bred, and had so longe lived) as it seemed they were come into a new world. But these were not the things, they much looked on, or long tooke up their thoughts; for they had other work in hand, and an other kind of warr to wage, and maintaine. For though they saw faire, and bewtifull cities, flowing with abundance of all sorts of welth and riches, yet it was not longe before they saw the grimme and grisly face of povertie coming upon them like an armed man; with whom they must bukle, and incounter, and from whom they could not flye; but they were armed with faith, and patience against him, and all his encounters; and though they were sometimes foyled, yet by Gods assistance they prevailed, and got the victorie.

Now when Mr. Robinson, Mr. Brewster, and other principall members were come over [1] (for they were of the last and stayed to help the weakest over before them) shuch things were [12] thought on as were necessarie for their setling, and best ordering of the church affairs.[2] And when they had lived at Amsterdam aboute

much beer; . . . no water to wash withal but rain-water preserved in rain-bags; little fire to be afforded in this country, except turf . . . the most of the wood burnt brought out of Denmark, Norway, which is here used; the coals come from Newcastle." *Travels*, 65.

[1] Cotton Mather relates an incident which was probably a tradition in his day of Bradford's landing in Holland. "Where, he was not long ashore ere a viper seized on his hand; that is an officer, who carried him into the Magistrates: unto whom an envious passenger had accused him as having fled out of England. When the Magistrates understood the true cause of his coming thither, they were well satisfied with him: and so he repaired joyfully unto his brethren at Amsterdam, Where the difficulties to which he afterwards stooped, in learning and serving of a Frenchman at the working of silks, were abundantly compensated by the delight wherewith he sat under the shadow of our Lord in his purely-dispensed Ordinances." *Magnalia*, Book II. 3 (ed. 1702).

[2] The very slight differences between the Dutch reformed churches and that of the Puritans offered no obstacle to an almost complete union in faith. Robinson in his *Apology* said: "We do profess before God and men, that such is our accord, in the case

a year, Mr. Robinson (their pastor) and some others of best discerning, seeing how Mr. John Smith and his companie, was allready fallen in to contention with the church that was ther before them,[1] and no means they could use, would doe any good to cure the same, and also that the flames of contention were like to breake out in that anciente church it selfe (as affterwards lamentably came to pass) [2] which things they prudently foreseeing, thought it was best to remove, before they were any way engaged with the same. Though they well knew it would be much to the prejudice of their outward estates, both at presente and in licklyhood in the future; as indeed it proved to be.

of religion, with the Dutch Reformed Churches, as that we are ready to subscribe to all and every article of faith in the same Church, as they are laid down in the *Harmony of Confessions of Faith*, published in their name. . . . Touching the Reformed Churches what more shall I say? We account them the true churches of Jesus Christ, and both profess and practise communion with them in the holy things of God, what in us lieth. Their sermons such of ours frequent, as understand the Dutch tongue; the sacraments we do administer unto their known members, if by occasion any of them be present with us; their distractions, and other evils we do seriously bewail; and do desire from the Lord their holy and firm peace." *6, 8.

[1] The "ancient church" was that of which Francis Johnson was the first pastor. It began in 1592 at Fox's house in London, and in September, 1597, was reconstituted at Amsterdam. In December, 1610, a division occurred in it, Henry Ainsworth taking one party and the Meeting House, and Johnson the other.

[2] Some months before Robinson's arrival Smyth had raised differences in the older church on the sin of using the English Bible in worship, and with some followers was already deeply involved in doubt on baptism and the constitution of the Church. This led to the dissolution by the Smyth faction of their former church state and ministry, and the erection of a new church by baptism. The real question in the ancient church turned upon the importance of church elders, Johnson tending to exalt their position and to fear the "pathwaie unto popular government — the verie bane to all good order in church and commonwealth." Robinson, while valuing the office of Elders, gave them less power and the ordinary members of the church more influence than did either Johnson or Ainsworth. Dexter, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 453, 466. In 1610 Smyth entertained so pronounced views as to belong to no church, and remained unchurched until his death. *Ib.* 521.

Their remoovall to Leyden.

For these and some other reasons they removed to Leyden, a fair and bewtifull citie, and of a sweete situation,[1] but made more



UNIVERSITY OF LEYDEN

[1] In the Hall of Records, Leyden, is found the entry of the formal application for permission to remove to that city.

"To the Honorable the Burgomasters, and Court, of the City of Leyden:

"With due submission and respect Ian Robarthse, Minister of the Divine Word, and some of the members, of the Christian Reformed Religion, born in the Kingdom of Great Britain, to the number of one hundred persons or thereabouts, men and women, represent that they desire to come to live in this city by the first day of May next, and to have the freedom thereof in carrying on their trades, without being a burden in the least to any one.

"They, therefore, address themselves to Your Honors, humbly praying that Your Honors will be pleased to grant them free consent to betake themselves, as aforesaid. This doing, etc."

This is undated and unsigned, but the place of its entry and the action of the Burgomasters, written on the margin, fix the time. That action follows:

famous by the universitie wherwith it is adorned, in which (of late) had been so many learned men.[1] But wanting that traffike by sea which Amsterdam injoyes, it was not so beneficiall for their outward means of living and estates. But being now hear pitched they fell to shuch trades and imployments as they best could; valewing peace, and their spirituall comforte above any other riches what soever. And at lenght they came to raise a competente and comforteable living, but with hard, and continuall labore.[2]

"The Court, in making a disposition of this present Memorial declare that they refuse no honest persons free ingress to come and have their residence in this city, provided that such persons behave themselves, and submit to the laws and ordinances: and, therefore, the coming of the memorialists will be agreeable and welcome.

"This done by the Burgomasters in their session at the Council House the 12 day of February, 1609.

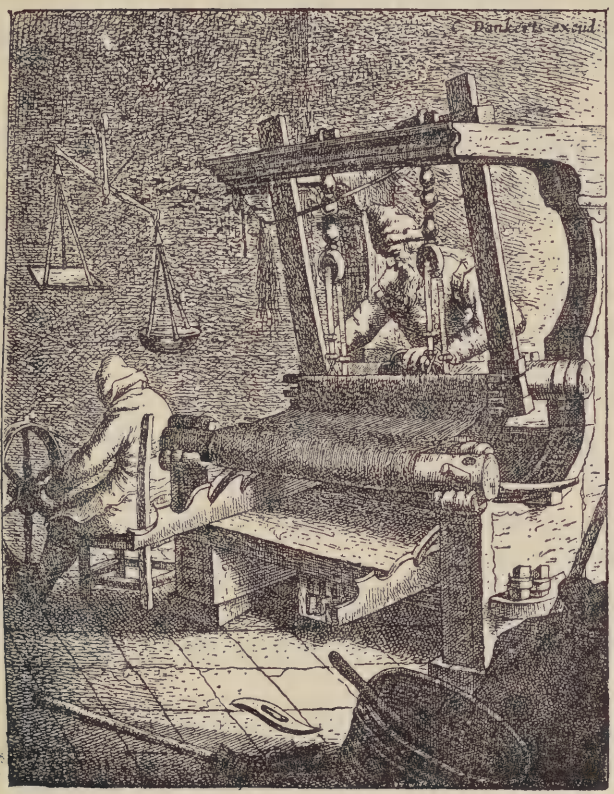
"J. Van Hout. Secretarius."

Dexter, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 467. The entry was first brought to the attention of Americans in 1848, by Prof. N. C. Kist, of Leyden University.

[1] Sir William Brereton wrote in 1634: "although here be an university, yet no face nor presence of an academy. Here be only two colleges; in one about thirty students of divinity, who have their diets and twenty gilders apiece, a square uniform little court or quadrangle: in the other, twenty students of divinity, who have therein their diets and fifty gilders a-piece; these only go in the habit of scholars: so as here is no face nor presence of an university." *Travels*, 39. He thus described Leyden: "Here about Leyden is a more pleasant, sweet place than I have met with in Holland. . . . This is the largest and most populous city I have yet seen. Herein their greatest trade is fulling and making of wool: abundance of our English wool and fullers'-earth brought hither through Scotland by stealth; so as black cloths, far better dyed than ours, can here be afforded better cheap than at Delphe." *Travels*, 46.

[2] In spite of the large influx of refugees from Flanders and the Low Countries into England, and the introduction of their industries with them, the English cloth manufactory could not compete successfully with that of the Dutch. The industry was better organized in Holland, and the trade with foreign countries better managed. Indeed, England sent undressed cloth to the Netherlands to be finished, and in 1610, a suggestion that the two peoples unite in colonizing and trading companies in Virginia and the East Indies was rejected by the English, on the ground that if the union be on equal terms, the art and industry of the Dutch "will wear out ours." Winwood, *Memorial*, III. 239. For half a century the competition continued to be felt by the English cloth makers, until duties and commercial regulations excluded the Dutch products from the markets of England. The Pilgrims from London entered readily into

Being thus setled (after many difficulties) they continued many years, in a comfortable condition; injoying much sweete and delightefull societie and spirituall comforte togeather in the wayes of



DUTCH WEAVER, 1610

the various processes of the cloth manufacture at Leyden. While the lowest forms of labor were freely open to them, the guilds closed the more skilled occupations. To become a member of a guild, and each important industry had its guild, it was necessary to become a citizen. The conditions of citizenship were not onerous, and it may be assumed that such Englishmen as applied, did so for business purposes. Dexter analyzes the occupations of one hundred and thirty-one persons of English connection in Leyden, of whom eighty-six were known to belong in some sense to the Pilgrim company. Fifty-seven occupations were represented, and the larger number belonged to

God; under the able ministrie, and prudente governmente of Mr. John Robinson, and Mr. William Brewster, who was an assistante unto him, in the place of an Elder, unto which he was now called, and chosen by the church.[1] So as they grew in knowledge and other gifts and graces of the spirite of God; and lived togeather in peace, and love, and holines; and many came unto them from diverse parts of England, so as they grew a great congregation. And if at any time, any differences arose, or offences broak [13] out (as it cannot be, but some time ther will, even amongst the best of men) they were ever so mete with, and nipt in the head betimes, or otherwise so well composed, as still love, peace, and communion was continued; or els the church purged of those that were incurable and incorrig[i]ble, when, after much patience used, no other means would serve, which seldom came to pass. Yea shuch was the mutuall love, and reciprocall respecte that this worthy man had to his flocke, and his flocke to him; that it might be said of them as it once was of that famouse Emperour Marcus Aurelious,[2] and the

the cloth industries. Bradford, in 1613, is described in the Dutch records as a "fustian maker;" Robert Cushman (1617), a wool carder, and Edward Winslow (1618), a printer. *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 488, 508.

[1] In noting the generally loose organization of the Pilgrim church Arber writes: "When it started at Scrooby, it seems to have had the Rev. Richard Clyfton for Pastor; and the Rev. John Robinson, when he came North, acted as Assistant or Teacher; with probably one or more Deacons. When it removed from Amsterdam to Leyden, and Clyfton deserted that Church, about April 1609; the Rev. John Robinson was the only Officer, besides the Deacon or Deacons, for a considerable time. Then, at Leyden, at some date not later than 1613, William Brewster was elected Ruling Elder. All the arrangements seem to have been dictated by their practical necessities." *Story of the Pilgrim Fathers*, 29.

[2] Goulden booke, &c. — Bradford. "'The golden boke of Marcus Aurelius, emperor and eloquent oratour,' was a translation of a French version of [Antonio de] Guevara's [Bishop of Mondoñedo] 'El Reloj de Principes.' . . . It was first published in 1534, and republished in 1539, 1542, 1553, 1557 and 1559. A very definite interest attaches to this book. It has been proved that English 'euphuism' is an adaptation of the style of the Spanish Guevara. Lyly's 'Euphues' was mainly founded on Sir Thomas North's 'Dial of Princes' (1558 and 1567), and the 'Dial of Princes' is a translation of an enlarged edition of Guevara's 'El Reloj,' which was first translated

people of Rome, that it was hard to judge wheather he delighted more in haveing shuch a people, or they in haveing shuch a pastor. His love was greate towards them, and his care was all ways bente for their best good, both for soule and body; for besides his singuler abilities in devine things (wherin he excelled) he was also very able to give directions in civill affaires, and to foresee dangers and inconveniences; by which means he was very helpfull to their outward estates, and so was every way as a commone father unto them. And none did more offend him then those that were close, and cleaving to them selves, and retired from the commone good;[1] as also shuch as would be stiffe, and riged in matters of outward order, and invey against the evills of others, and yet be remisse in them selves, and not so carefull to express a vertuous conversation. They in like maner had ever a reverente regard unto him, and had him in precious estimation, as his worth and wisdom did deserve; and though they esteemed him highly whilst he lived and laboured amongst them; yet much more after his death,[2] when they came to feele the wante of his help, and saw (by woefull experience) what a treasure they had lost, to the greefe of their harts, and wounding of their sowls; yea shuch a loss as they saw could not be repaired; for it was as hard for them to find shuch another leader and feeder in all respects, as for the Taborits to find another Ziska.[3] And though they did not

into English by [John Bourchier, second Baron] Berners. The marked popularity of Berners' original translation clearly points to him as the founder of 'Guevarism' or so-called Euphuism in England." *Dictionary of National Biography*, art. Bourchier.

[1] See p. 113, *infra.*

[2] Robinson died at Leyden March 1, 1624–25, and his death receives notice under the year 1626, *infra.* Winslow says that such was the respect entertained in Leyden of this Separatist, "The university, and Ministers of the City accompanied him to his grave with all their accustomed solemnities; bewayling the great losse that not onely that particular Church had, whereof he was Pastor; but some of the chief of them sadly affirmed, that all the Churches of Christ sustained a losse by the death of that worthy Instrument of the Gospel." *Hypocrisie Unmasked*, *95.

[3] John Žižka (1376–1424) a leader of the Hussites and a great Bohemian general. He was, after 1421, totally blind, but never lost a battle in his contest with Sigismund

call them selves orphans, as the other did (after his death), yet they had cause as much to lamente (in another regard) their present condition, and after usage. But to returne; I know not but it may be spoken, to the honour of God, and without prejudice to [14] any; that shuch was the true pietie, the humble zeale, the fervent love, of this people (whilst they thus lived together) towards God, and his waies, and the single hartednes and sinceir affection one towards another, that they came as near the primative patterne of the first churches, as any other church of these later times have done, according to their ranke and qualitie.[1]

But seeing it is not my porpose to treat of the severall passages that befell this people whilst they thus lived in the Low countries, (which might worthily require a large treatise of it selfe) but to make way to shew the begining of this plantation, which is that I aime at;[2] yet because some of their adversaries did, (upon the

(1368–1437), Roman Emperor and King of Hungary and Bohemia. The name Taborites (from a mountain near Prague, "fanatically called" Tabor) was taken by one of the two factions into which the Hussites were divided. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, I. 463 (ed. 1846).

[1] Dr. Dexter and his son made very careful examination of the Dutch records in Leyden to obtain, as far as is possible, the names of those who formed the "Pilgrim Company in Leyden." The results will be found in Dexter, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 599. They estimate that from early summer in 1609 to about the end of July, 1620, the company must have included between four and five hundred individuals. The list could not be complete from the many difficulties offered by the records; but accepting it as it is, the compilers made the following summaries: the number of known or fairly presumable members of the Pilgrim Company at Leyden until July, 1620, was 298; of others more or less closely associated with them until that time or later, 281 — a total of 579. Deducting the number of those named twice (106) the whole Pilgrim Colony of the list comprised 473. Thirty-three members of the company became citizens of Leyden before July, 1620, and thirty-two, subsequent to the migration. See p. 97, *infra*.

[2] Winslow says he "often meets" with certain complaints against New England. "The first that I meet with is, concerning the rise and foundation of our *New England* Plantations; It being alledged (though upon a great mistake by a late Writer) that division or disagreement in the Church of *Leyden*, was the occasion, nay cause of the first Plantation in *New England;* for saith the Author, or to this effect, when they could



PLAN OF THE CITY OF LEYDEN.

rumore of their removall) cast out slanders against them, as if that state had been wearie of them,[1] and had rather driven them out (as the heathen historians did faine of moyses and the Isralites when they went out of Egipte)[2] then that it was their owne free choyse and motion, I will therfore mention a perticuler or too, to shew the contrary, and the good acceptation they had in the place wher they lived. And first though many of them weer poore, yet ther was none so poore but if they were known to be of that congregation, the *Dutch* (either bakers or others) would trust them in any reasonable matter when they wanted money. Because they had found by experience how carfull they were to keep their word, and saw them so painfull, and dilligente in their callings; yea, they would strive to gett their custome, and to imploy them above others, in their worke, for their honestie and diligence.

Againe; the magistrates of the citie, aboute the time of their coming away, or a litle before, in the publick place of justice, gave

no longer agree together, the one part went to *New England*, and began the Plantation at *Plymouth*, which he makes the mother, as it were, of the rest of the Churches, as if the foundation of our *New England* Plantations had been laid upon division or separation, then which nothing is more untrue. . . . Having thus briefly shewed that the foundation of our New England Plantations was not laid upon schism, division, or separation; but upon love, peace, and holiness: yea, such love and mutual care of the Church of Leyden for the spreading of the Gospel, the welfare of each other, and their posterities to succeeding generations, as is seldom found on earth." Winslow, *Hypocrisie Unmasked*, *92.

[1] Robinson stated the charges brought against the Brownists, and the fourth charge was: "that being become so odious to the magistrates here, as that we are by violence to be driven the country, we are now constrained to seek some other, and far part of the world to settle in. The other contumely is in a Dutch rhyme without name, famed it may be, and as commonly it comes to pass, 'between the cup and the wall,' as saith the proverb. This ballad-maker comparing the received religion in the Dutch churches to a tree: the sectaries in the country, of which he nameth not a few, to certain beasts, endeavouring this tree's ruin, and overthrow, likens the Brownists to a little worm, gnawing at the root thereof; and not having less will, but less power to hurt, than the residue." *Works*, III. 8.

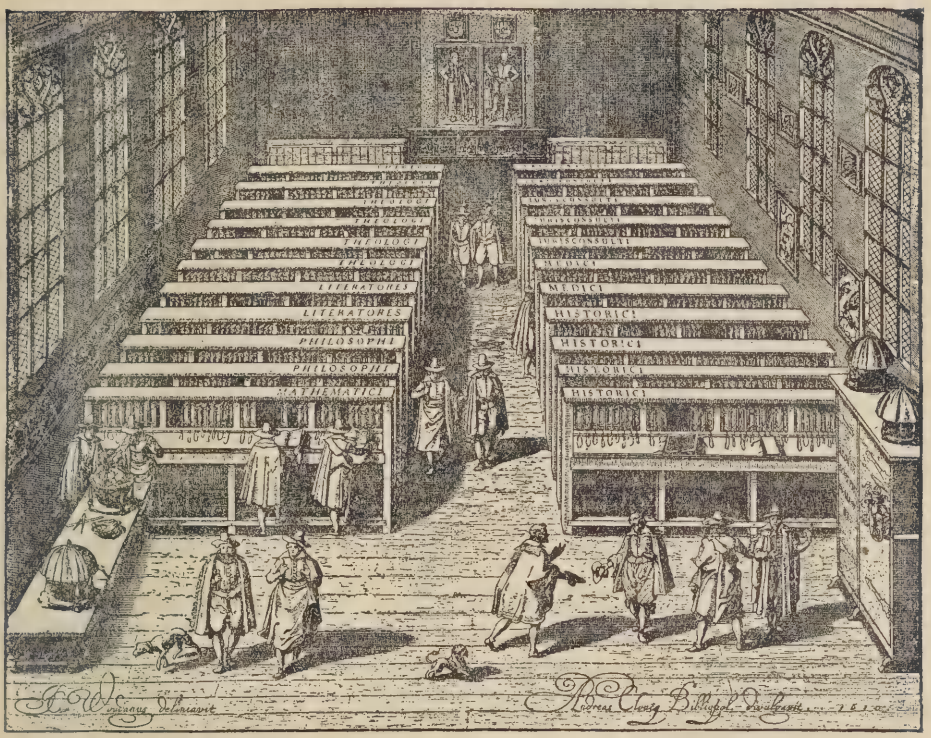
[2] Works of Tacitus, Oxford translation, Book V of the translation. DEANE. Murphy (1805), VI. 346.

this comendable testemoney of them (in the reproofe of the Wallons, who were of the french church in that citie).[1] These English (said they) have lived amongst us now these · 12 · years, and yet we never had any sute, or accusation came against any of them; but your strifes, and quarels are continuall, etc.[2] In these times allso were

[1] The wars of the Reformation and the persecutions of the Inquisition drove from the Netherlands many thousands of their protestant and industrial inhabitants. Many went to England, where their knowledge and experience served to establish industries that offered competition to those of the Continent, and aided in giving the English a standing in manufactures not enjoyed before their migration. Amsterdam and Leyden also received many of the fugitives, and derived a lasting benefit from this accession of skilled labor. The name Walloon is derived from the Old French Wallon (Gualon), and was applied to the inhabitants of southern Belgium. The wife of Francis Cooke was a Walloon, and Winslow pointed out that the Plymouth Church held communion with the French churches, even before coming to New England. *Hypocrisie Unmasked*, *96.

Some Walloons of Amsterdam entertained in 1621 the same purpose as did the Pilgrims in 1620; for they applied to the English ambassador, Sir Dudley Carleton, for permission to establish a colony in Virginia, to be governed by magistrates of their own election. The list of those proposing to migrate is in *Calendar of State Papers*, Colonial, 1574–1660, 498. The application passed to the Virginia Company, but received no notice in the minutes of meetings. An answer to the Crown, dated August 11, 1621, stated that the Virginia Company "did not conceive any inconvenience, provided the number does not exceed three hundred, and they take the oath of allegiance to the king and conform to the rules of government established in the Church of England." Land would be given, but no other aid, and the Company could not recommend the king to supply shipping. It is possible little encouragement was offered because only a few months before, stress had been laid upon the competition offered by the French and Dutch in the fur trade, and measures taken to counteract it. A settlement from Holland, even of the Belgian refugees, could tend only to aggravate that competition. As a consequence the Dutch West India Company took up the matter, and the case of the Walloons became a subject of official concern. The first permanent settlers of New Netherland were largely Walloons. Brodhead, *History of the State of New York*, 146.

[2] The Separatists of Amsterdam had so many differences among themselves that this statement cannot apply to them. "There were more disputes, Contests and Quarrels, amongst the few Brownists, and other Independent sectaries, which resorted thither the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's, King James the First's time, and so on, than among the whole Dutch Nation ever since they Reform'd: 'Tis unaccountable what impertinent Controversies arose between them, even to the Colour of Aaron's



LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LEYDEN, 1610

the great troubles raised by the Arminians,[1] who as they greatly mollested the whole state, so this citie in perticuler (in which was

Ephod, whether it were Blew, or a Sea-green, which made an irreconcilable difference between their Pastors, and consequently the Flocks divided." W. Baron, *Dutch Way of Toleration*, 10. The incident referred to, is the discussion between Ainsworth and Hugh Broughton on the material used in Aaron's Ephod. One of the sayings of John Smyth, preserved by Bradford in his *Dialogue*, is pertinent: "Truly, we being now come into a place of liberty, are in great danger, if we look not well to our ways; for we are like men set upon the ice, and therefore may easily slide and fall."

[1] Jacobus Arminius (1560–1609) had been influenced by his teachers and associates to adopt a modified form of Calvinism, which resulted in the Remonstrant Church in Holland. Liberal in opinion and believing in greater freedom in practice, the tendency of the time towards systematizing religion repelled him. His studies and controversies

the cheefe universitie) so as ther were dayly and hotte disputes in the schooles ther aboute, and as the studients and other lerned were devided in their oppinions hearin, so were the ·2· proffessors or devinitie readers them selves; the one daly teaching for it, the other against it. Which grue to that pass, that few of the disciples of the one would hear the other teach. But Mr. Robinson, though he taught thrise a weeke him selfe, and write sundrie books, besides his manyfould pains otherwise,[1] yet he went constantly [15] to hear

led him to assert the freedom of man against the Calvinists' unconditional decrees of God. "He sought to make election dependent upon faith, whilst they sought to enforce absolute predestination as the rule of faith, according to which the whole Scriptures are to be interpreted." J. A. Dorner, *History of Protestant Theology*, I. 417. He did not live to perfect his system, but this task was accomplished by his successor, Episcopius. The chief opponent of Arminius was Franz Gomarus (1563–1641), also of the University of Leyden.

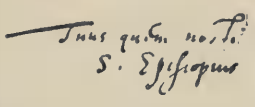
[1] August 26/ September 5, 1615, John Robinson matriculated at Leyden University, as a student of theology, age 39, and having a family. Admission to the University carried with it certain advantages, such as some exemptions from taxation and from service in the city guard, and an annual allowance of beer and wine. A further advantage was shown in the case of Brewer, Brewster's partner in printing, where the University interfered to prevent his being delivered to the English representative for transportation to England. As the members of the University were chiefly foreigners, the preservation of their privileges was a matter of some consequence, or they would all fly the University.

Of eleven titles of Robinson's writings all but one were probably composed in Holland, and two were published after his death. These eleven writings were: 1. *An Answer to a Censorious Epistle* [1608–10]. 2. *A Ivstification of Separation from the Church of England. Against Mr. Richard Bernard, his invective Intitvled;* The Separatists' Schisme, &c. [Leyden (?), 1610]. 3. *Of Religious Commvnion, Private and Publique*, &c. [Leyden], 1614. The copy in the British Museum has the autograph of Randall Thickins, Robinson's brother-in-law, and a few manuscript notes. 4. *A Manvmission to a Manvduction*, &c. [Leyden], 1615. 5. *The People's Plea for the Exercise of Prophesie, against Mr. Iohn Yates, his Monopolie*, &c. [Leyden], 1618. 6. *Apologia Ivsta et Necessaria . . . Quorundam Christianorum . . . dictorum Brownistarum, sive Barrowistarum*, &c. [Leyden], 1619. 7. *A Defence of the Doctrine propovnded by the Synode of Dort*, &c. [Leyden], 1624. 8. *A Briefe Catechisme concerning Church Government.* This may have been printed at Leyden, in 1624, but no copy is known. It appeared in a second edition in 1642. 9. *An Appeal on Truths behalffe (concerninge some differences in the Church at Amsterdam)* [Leyden], 1624. 10. *Observations Divine*

ther readings, and heard the one as well as the other; by which means he was so well grounded in the controversie, and saw the force of all their arguments, and knew the shifts of the adversarie. And being him selfe very able; none was fitter to buckle with them then him selfe. As appered by sundrie disputes, so as he began to be terrible to the Arminians; which made Episcopius [1] (the Arminian professor) to put forth his best stringth, and set forth sundrie Thesies, which by publick dispute he would defend against all men. Now Poliander the other proffessor, and the cheefe preachers of the citie, desired Mr. Robinson to dispute against him; but he was loath, being a stranger; yet the other did importune him, and tould him that shuch was the abilitie and nimbl[e]nes of the adversarie; that the truth would suffer, if he did not help them. So as he condescended, and prepared him selfe against the time, and when the day came, the lord did so help him to defend the truth, and foyle

and Morall, &c. [Leyden], 1625. 11. *A Treatise of the Lawfulnes of Hearing of the Ministers in the Church of England*, &c. [Amsterdam], 1634. All but number four were included in a collection of his *Works*, issued in 1851, by Robert Ashton, and that number will be found in 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, I. 165.

[1] Episcopius (Simon Bisschop) was without question the ablest and most learned leader of the Arminians in their contest with the Gomarists. A native of Amsterdam and a somewhat younger man than Robinson, he had passed through the University of Leyden, and in 1610, the year of the Arminian *Remonstrance*, he was in charge of a church in a small village near Rotterdam. Two years later he succeeded Gomar as professor of theology at Leyden, having won notice by his advocacy of the cause of the Remonstrants at the Hague Conference. Here he continued to teach until 1619, when he was deposed and expelled by the Synod of Dort. Retiring into France, he labored in the Arminian cause until the heat of the persecution of that faction in Holland had subsided, when, in 1626, he returned to Rotterdam, and became rector of the Remonstrant Church at Amsterdam. He died in 1643, at the age of 60. See Frederick Calder, *Memoirs of Simon Episcopius*, London, 1835.



Of Joannes Polyander a Kerckhoven little is known. He was educated at Heidelberg and Geneva, and had been pastor of the French Church at Dort. In 1611 the University of Leyden called him to the chair resigned by Gomarus. Festus Hommius was pastor of the Walloon Church in Leyden.

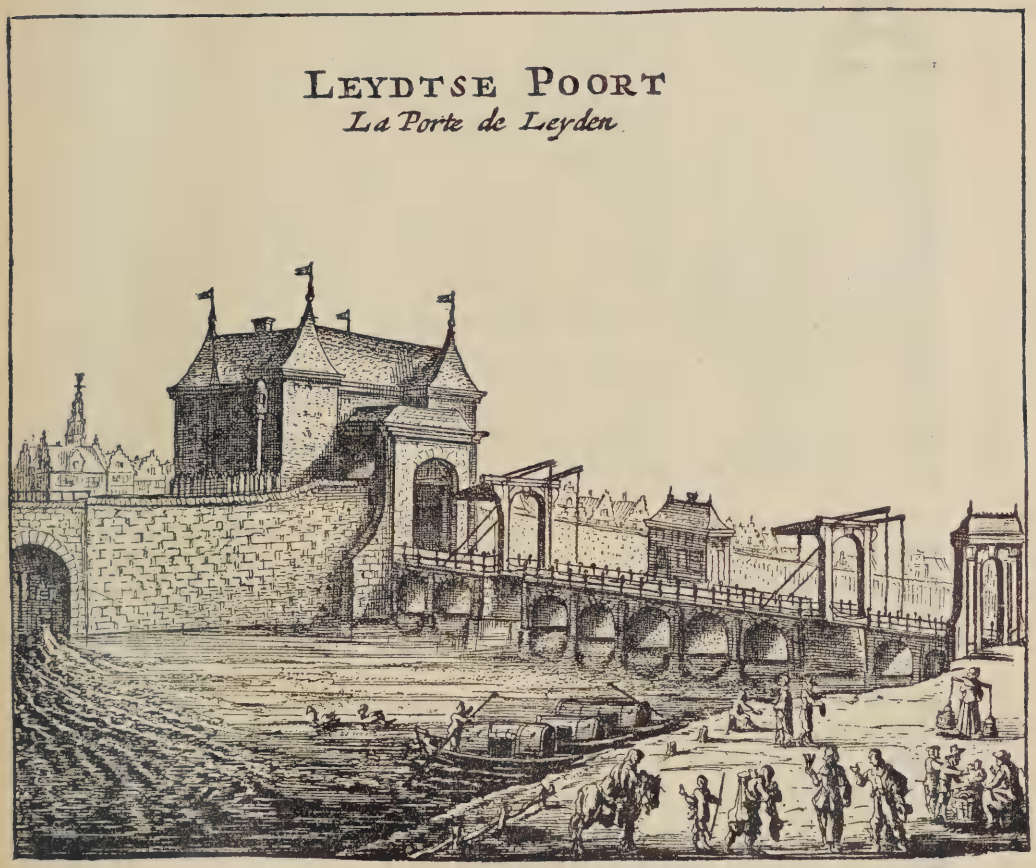
this adversarie, as he put him to an apparent nonplus, in this great and publike audiance. And the like he did a ·2· or ·3· time, upon such like occasions.[1] The which as it caused many to praise God, that the trueth had so famous victory, so it procured him much honour and respecte from those lerned men, and others which loved the trueth. Yea, so farr were they from being weary of him, and his people, or desiring their absence; as it was said by some (of no mean note) that were it not for giveing offence to the state of England; they would have preferd him otherwise if he would, and alowd them some publike favour. Yea when ther was speech of their remoovall into these parts, sundrie of note, and eminencie of that nation would have had them come under them, and for that end made them large offers.[2] Now though I might aledg many other perticu-

[1] In his *Dialogue* Bradford states that Robinson was "an acute and expert disputant, very quick and ready, and had much bickering with the Arminians, who stood more in fear of him than any of the University." Not dissimilar language of Robinson is used by Jan Hoornbeck, a professor at Utrecht, in his *Summa Controversiarum Religionis*, published in 1658 (p. 741). "Scripsit præterea varia contra Arminianos: frequens quippe et acer erat Episcopii in Academia adversarius et opponens." No mention of a formal debate as is described is to be found in any biography of Episcopius. Winslow writes: "And our pastor, Mr. Robinson, in the time when Arminianism prevailed so much, at the request of the most orthodox divines, as Polyander, Festus Hommius, etc. disputed daily against Episcopius (in the Academy at Leyden) and others, the grand champions of that error, and had as good respect amongst them as any of their own divines." *Hypocrisie Unmasked*, *95. The university records also are silent upon a formal disputation, and at Leyden, the party of Episcopius was at the time in the ascendant. *Dictionary of National Biography*, XLIX. 19. There are thus improbabilities against a stated dispute held at the request of Polyander and the chief preachers of the city, but in one of the frequent public discussions Robinson undoubtedly took a part.

[2] See p. 99, *infra*. Bentivoglio, the papal nuncio in the Low Countries from 1607 to 1616 says of the Puritans: "I Puritani ancora si sono tollerati, che sono più puri e più rigidi Calvinisti, i quali non vogliono riconoscere autorità alcuna ne' magistrati politici sopra il governo de' loro ministri eretici; e sono quasi tutti de' Puritani d'Inghilterra, che per occasion di commercio frequentan l' Ollanda, e le altre Provincie Unite. . . . I Puritani Inglesi sono in Amsterdam quasi tutti per l' istesso rispetto; e se ne trattengono

lers, and examples of the like kinde, to shew the untruth and unlicklyhode of this slander, yet these shall suffice, seeing it was beleeved of few; being only raised by the malice of some, who laboured their disgrace.

alcuni medesimamente per occasione di mercanzia nella città di Midelburgo in Zelanda. Per ogni parte dunque, e da tutti gli angoli, si può dire, delle Provincie Unite, s' odono i latrati, e gli urli di tanti infetti loro settarii." *Relazione di Fiandra*, Parte II. cap. II.



AMSTERDAM: GATEWAY LEADING TO LEYDEN

The .4. Chapter

Showing the reasons, and causes of their remoovall.

AFTER they had lived in this citie about some ·11· or ·12· years, (which is the more observable being the whole time of that famose truce between that state and the Spaniards,)[1] and sundrie of them were taken away by death; and many others begane to be well striken in years (the grave mistris Experience haveing taught them many things) [15 [2]] those prudent governours, with sundrie of the sagest members begane both deeply to apprehend their present dangers, and wisely to foresee the future; and thinke of timly remedy. In the agitation of their thoughts, and much discours of things hear aboute, at length they began to incline to this conclusion, of remoovall to some other place. Not out of any new fanglednes, or other shuch like giddie humor, by which men are oftentimes transported to their great hurt, and danger.[3] But for sundrie weightie and solid reasons; some of the cheefe

[1] Spain and the Netherlands entered into a truce for twelve years, signed at Antwerp, March 30, 1609. For more than a year a truce had been pending, but the two provinces most actively engaged in commerce, and the seats of refuge to the oppressed of other countries, had in a measure escaped the horrors of the war. "The States contented themselves with a general recognition of their independence. The King of Spain, though he reserved a right to prohibit traffic with his own territories in the Indies, yet declared that he would throw no impediment in the way of the trade of the Dutch with any of the native states beyond the limits of the Spanish possessions. This was the greatest concession which had yet been wrung from Spain." Gardiner, *History of England*, II. 29.

[2] Page 15 is repeated in the MS.

[3] "I persuade myselfe, never people upon earth lived more lovingly, and parted more sweetly then wee the Church at *Leyden* did, not rashly, in a distracted humour; but upon joynt and serious deliberation, often seeking the minde of GOD by fasting and prayer: whose gracious presence we not onely found with us; but his blessing upon

of which I will hear breefly touch. And first, they saw and found by experience the hardnes of the place and countrie to be shuch, as few in comparison would come to them; and fewer that would bide it out, and continew with them. For many that came to them, and many more that desired to be with them; could not endure that great labor and hard fare, with other inconveniences which they underwent and were contented with. But though they loved their persons, approved their cause, and honoured their sufferings, yet they left them, as it weer weeping, as Orpah did her mother in law Naomie; or as those Romans did Cato in Utica, who desired to be excused, and borne with, though they could not all be Catoes. For many, though they desired to injoye the ordinances of God in their puritie, and the libertie of the gospell with them, yet (alass) they admitted of bondage — with deanger of conscience, rather then to indure these hardships; yea, some preferred, and chose the prisons in England, rather then this libertie in Holland, with these afflictions. But it was thought that if a better, and easier place of living, could be had, it would draw many, and take away these discouragments. Yea, their pastor would often say, that many of those that both wrate, and preached now against them, if they were in a place, wher they might have libertie and live comfortably, they would then practise as they did.[1]

us from that time to this instant [1646]: to the indignation of our adversaries, the admiration of strangers, and the exceeding consolation of our selves, to see such effects of our prayers and teares before our pilgrimage here bee ended." Winslow, *Hypocrisie Unmasked*, *88.

[1] "Amongst many other inconveniences," wrote Winslow (*Hypocrisie Unmasked*, *89), they considered "how hard the Country was where we lived, how many spent their estate in it, and were forced to return for *England*, how grievous to live from under the protection of the State of *England;* how like we were to lose our language, and our name of English; how little good wee did, or were like to do to the Dutch in reforming the Sabbath; how unable there to give such education to our children, as wee our selves had received &c." Morton intimates some activity on the part of the Pilgrims towards reforming the Dutch practices. "In ten years time, whiles their Church sojourned amongst them, they could not bring them to reform the neglect of Observation of the

2ly. They saw, that though the people generally, bore all these difficulties very cherfully, and with a resolute courage, being in the best, and strength of their years, yet old age began to steale on many of them, (and their great and continuall labours, with other crosses, and sorrows, hastened it before the time) so as it was not only probably thought, but apparently seen, that within a few years more, they would be in danger to scatter (by necessities pressing them) or sinke under their burdens, or both. And therfore according to the devine proverb, that a wise man seeth the plague when it cometh, and hideth him selfe, Pro. 22. 3. so they like skillfull and beaten souldiers were fearfull, either to be intrapped or surrounded by their enimies, so as they should neither be able to fight nor flie. And therfor thought it better to dislodge betimes to some place of better advantage and less danger, if any shuch could be found. [16]

3ly. Thirdly; As necessitie was a taskmaster over them, so they were forced to be shuch, not only to their servants (but in a sorte) to their dearest chilldren; the which as it did not a litle wound the tender harts of many a loving father, and mother; so it produced likwise sundrie sad and sorowfull effects. For many of their children, that were of best dispositions, and gracious Inclinations; (haveing lernde to bear the yoake in their youth) and willing to bear parte of their parents burden, were (often times) so oppressed with their hevie labours, that though their minds were free and willing, yet their bodies bowed under the weight of the same, and became

Lord's-day, as a Sabbath, or any other thing amiss amongst them." *New Englands Memoriall*, *3.

"Here is little respect had to sanctify the sabbath: the young children girls walked all the Sabbath in the afternoon with cups or tins in their hands; they were about five or six years of age; others elder, about ten, and thirteen, and fourteen years of age, guided these little ones, and sung, screaming, and squeaking, and straining their voices. Such as they met gave them money, which they put into the cups, which was intended to buy a wassail-cup, a carouse: this they continued all Monday." Sir William Brereton, *Travels*, 6.

decreped in their early youth; the vigor of nature being consumed in the very budd as it were. But that which was more lamentable, and of all sorowes most heavie to be borne, was that many of their children, by these occasions, and the great licentiousnes of youth in that countrie, and the manifold temptations of the place, were drawne away by evill examples into extravagante and dangerous courses, getting the raines off their neks, and departing from their parents. Some became souldiers, others tooke upon them farr viages by sea; and other some worse courses, tending to dissolutnes, and the danger of their soules, to the great greefe of their parents and dishonour of God. So that they saw their posteritie would be in danger to degenerate and be corrupted.

Lastly, (and which was not least) a great hope, and inward zeall they had of laying some good foundation, (or at least to make some way therunto) for the propagating, and advancing the gospell of the kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of the world; yea, though they should be but even as stepping-stones, unto others for the performing of so great a work.[1]

[1] In their address to Charles the Second, dated June 5, 1661, the General Court of New Plymouth asked for his protection and "the confirmation of our Religiouse and Civill liberties and priviledges conferred by pattent from your Royall Grandfather (whoe well knew the ends your servants Aymd at in our transplantation) and since farther inlarged by your most Illustrious Father, even to us the first colony of your English subjects in New England, who did hither transport ourselves to serve our God with a pure conscience according to his will revealed, not a three daies journey as Moses but nere three thousand miles into a vast howling wilderness inhabited onely by Barbarians, yet part of your Majesties dominions. This we rather chose, then to live under a forreign state where yet we had libertie of conscience with all civill respects. But such was our duety love and loyaltie to our naturall Lord, desire to enlarge his dominions and enjoy his protection that we willingly overlooked all difficulties and discouragements, came hither, took possession in our persons for our Sovereign. In attempting whereof by reason of many hardships attending such a designe, we lost many of our dearest relations, the living scarcely able to bury their dead, yet then not without hopes that God might make us stepping stones for others more fit for such a worke." Gay Transcripts (MS.) from the P. R. O. *America and the West Indies*, 1661–1668, 102.

These, and some other like reasons, moved them to undertake this resolution of their removall; the which they afterward prosecuted with so great difficulties, as by the sequell will appeare.[1]

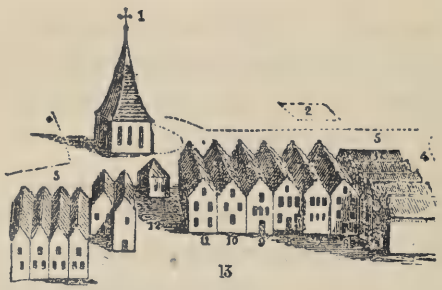
The place they had thoughts on, was some of those vast, and unpeopled countries of America, which are frutfull, and fitt for habitation; being devoyd of all civill inhabitants; wher ther are only salvage, and brutish men, which range up and downe, litle otherwise then the wild beasts of the same.[2] This proposition being made publike, and coming to the scaning of all; it raised many variable opinions amongst men, and caused many fears, and doubts amongst them selves. Some from their reasons, and hopes conceived, laboured to stirr up and incourage the rest to undertake, and prosecute the same; others againe out of their fears, objected against it, and sought to diverte from it; aledging many things, and those neither unreasonable, nor unprobable. As that it was a great designe, and subjecte to many unconceivable perills, and dangers; as, besides the casu[a]lties of the seas (which none can be freed from) the length of the vioage was shuch, as the weake bodys of women, and other persons worne out with age, and trav[a]ille (as many of them were) could never be able to endure. And yet if they should, the miseries of the land, which they should [17] be exposed unto, would be to hard to be borne; and lickly, some, or all of them togeither, to consume, and utterly to ruinate them. For ther they

[1] "Fourthly, that their Posterity would in a few generations become *Dutch*, and so lose their interest in the *English* Nation, they being desirous rather to enlarge His Majesty's Dominions, and to live under their Naturall Prince." Morton, *New Englands Memoriall*, *3. Winslow also laid stress upon this point, wishing to discover some place where "wee might exemplarily shew our tender Country-men by our example (no lesse burthened then our selves) where they might live, and comfortably subsist and enjoy the like liberties with us, being freed from Anti-christian bondage, keep their names and Nation, and not onely bee a meanes to enlarge the Dominions of our State, but the Church of Christ also, if the Lord have a people amongst the Natives whither hee should bring us &c." Winslow, *Hypocrisie Unmasked*, *89.

[2] Rosier, *True Relation* (1605), was surprised to meet with the "kind civility we found in a people, where we little expected any sparke of humanity."

should be liable to famine, and nakednes, and the wante in a maner of all things. The chang of aire, diate, and drinking of water, would infecte their bodies with sore sickneses, and greevous diseases. And also those which should escape or overcome these difficulties, should yett be in continuall danger of the salvage people; who are cruell, barbarous, and most trecherous, being most furious in their rage, and merciles wher they overcome; not being contente only to kill, and take away life, but delight to tormente men in the most bloodie manner that may be; fleaing some alive with the shells of fishes, cutting of the members, and joynts of others by peesmeale; and broiling on the coles, eate the collops of their flesh in their sight whilst they live, with other cruelties horrible to be related.[1] And surely it could not be thought but the very hearing of these things, could not but move the very bowels of men to grate within them, and make the weake to quake, and tremble. It was furder objected, that it would require greater summes of money to furnish shuch a voiage (and to fitt them with neccessaries) then their consumed estates would amounte too; and yett they must as well looke to be

[1] The exact source of this description of Indian cruelties has not been traced, and may have been drawn up after the coming to New England. It is not unlike what appears in Woods' *New England Prospect*, *49, but may have come from some Dutch reports made while the Pilgrims were in Holland, or from Spanish narratives of what had passed in Spanish America. Of collections of voyages that would be likely to come to the knowledge of the English a list might be made. Eden's *Decades of the newe Worlde or West India*, appeared in 1555, and he followed it in 1577 with his *History of Trauayle in the West and East Indies*. Thomas Nicholas, in 1578, issued a translation of Gomara's *Pleasant Historie of the Conquest of the Weast India*, by Cortes, and two years later Cartier's voyages to New France reached the English reader in a translation by John Florio from the Italian of Ramusio. Richard Hakluyt printed his *Divers Voyages touching the Discouerie of America* in 1582, and the *Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation*, in 1589, and an enlarged edition in 1598–1600. Sir Walter Ralegh's *Discoverie of Guiana* appeared in 1596, and Linschoten's *Discours of Voyages into ye Easte & West Indies* in 1598. De Bry and Hulsius may also have been among the possibilities, as well as the single volumes of Acosta and Rosier. The great interest in voyage and discovery is proved by the passage of these accounts from one language to another — Latin, French, German, and English — in editions that must have received sufficient support to warrant the printing.

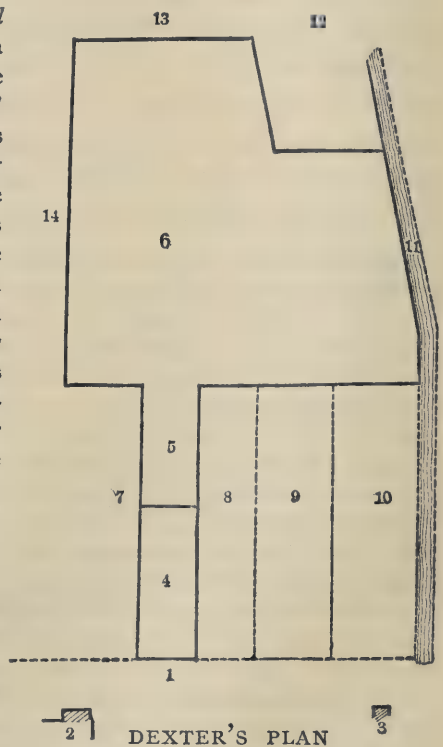


ROBINSON'S HOUSE, AND SURROUNDINGS, LEYDEN[1]

seconded with supplies, as presently to be transported. Also many presidents of ill success, and lamentable misseries befalne others, in the like designes, were easie to be found, and not forgotten to be aledged. Besides their owne experience, in their former troubles, and hardships, in their removall into Holand; and how hard a thing it was for them to live in that strange place,

[1] This cut is taken from the *Historical Magazine*, III. 332, and was based upon a plan of the city, dated 1670, which gave the buildings as they were in the Pilgrims' time. The full plan is reproduced in this volume, and St. Peter's Church may easily be identified by its number, 103. The neighborhood of the Robinson house was bounded by Heerensteegh (101), the church and belfry (103) and Klocksteegh (107). The second cut is taken from Dexter, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 531. The notation of streets and buildings are as follows; the first figures referring to the *Historical Magazine* plan and the figures in brackets to the Dexter plan:

1 [3] Belfry, no longer standing.
2 [2] St. Peter's Church.
3 [14] The Commandery.
4 [ ] Heerensteeg, about one hundred and fifty feet easterly from Robinson's house.
5 [1] Klocksteeg or Alley, on which Robinson's house fronted.
6 [7] Simonszoon house, on the east of Robinson's. On Dexter's plan this is called the estate of van der Wilde.



DEXTER'S PLAN

though it was a neighbour countrie, and a civill and rich comone wealth.[1]

7 [4] Robinson's house.
8 [8] House of widow van Alckemade.
9, 10, 11 [9] Other houses of Johann de Lalaing.
12 [12] *Falyde Beguynhof* and grounds, between which and the de Lalaing houses on the east was the Dovecker canal.
13 [5, 6] Garden of Robinson's house.
— [10] Estate of Dirck van Boostel, apparently bought between 1578 and 1611 by de Lalaing.
— [11] *Donckegeracht.*
— [13] Tenements of *Falyde Beguynhof.*

[1] Some means they had accumulated, as their homes would show. The location of very few of the houses occupied by the Pilgrims in Leyden has come down to us. Brewster, in 1609, lived on an alley called Stinck steeg (Stench Lane) near the Hoogewoerds Bridge and later removed to Choor steeg (Choir Lane), an alley extending from Broadway to the Choir of St. Peter's Church. This is the Vicus Choralis which is mentioned on the title-page of Brewster's printing of Cartwright's *Commentaries* (1617). The location of the first house occupied by John Robinson is not known, and in the first year or two may not have been fixed. The enlargement of the city in 1611, the fourth in its history, doubtless increased the opportunities for employment, and so added to the resources of the English, enabling them to buy a house and lot as a permanent settlement. In May, 1611, such an estate was purchased in *Klok steeg* (Bell Lane), being a house then belonging to Johann de Lalaing, and known as the Groenepoort (Green Door). The price was eight thousand gilders, of which two thousand were paid down, and five hundred annually thereafter, until the mortgage should be satisfied. The lot was irregular in shape, containing about half an acre of land and having a frontage on the Klok steeg of only twenty-five and a half feet. In the garden twenty-one houses were built between 1611 and 1647, and were presumably occupied by members of the families of the company. The parties named in the instrument as purchasers were "John Robinson, minister of God's word of the English congregation in this city, William Jepson, Henry Wood and Randall Thickins." Dexter, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 529 *et seq.* Winslow describes the pastor's house as "large." (*Hypocrisie Unmasked*, *90.) Occupation was taken in May, 1612, and very probably by that time an addition had been made to it. Dexter, 541. From a poll tax return of 1622 we learn that the house was occupied only by John Robinson and his family. After Robinson's death, Jepson bought out the interest of the others (December 13, 1629), and became sole owner. The house passed into other hands in 1637, and was taken down with others in 1681–83 for the purpose of erecting a *hof* (charitable institution) for the Walloons, still remaining, and known as *Pesyn's Hof.* *Historical Magazine*, III. 331.

It was answered, that all great, and honourable actions, are accompanied with great difficulties; and must be, both enterprised, and overcome with answerable courages. It was granted the dangers were great, but not desperate; the difficulties were many, but not invincible. For though their were many of them likly, yet they were not cartaine; it might be sundrie of the things feared, might never befale; others by providente care and the use of good means, might in a great measure be prevented; and all of them (through the help of God) by fortitude, and patience, might either be borne, or overcome. True it was, that shuch atempts were not to be made and undertaken without good ground, and reason; not rashly, or lightly as many have done for curiositie, or hope of gaine, etc. But their condition was not ordinarie; their ends were good and honourable; their calling lawfull, and urgente; and therfore they might expecte the blessing of God in their proceding. Yea though they should loose their lives in this action, yet might they have comforte in the same, and their endeavors would be honourable. They lived hear but as men in exile, and in a poore condition; and as great miseries might possiblie befale them in this place; for the ·12· years of truce were now out, and ther was nothing but beating of drumes, and preparing for warr, the events wherof are allway uncertaine. The Spaniard might prove as cruell as [18] the salvages of America;[1] and the famine and pestelence as sore hear as ther; and their libertie less to looke out for remedie. After many other perticuler things answered, and aledged on both sides, it was fully concluded by the major parte, to put this designe in execution; and to prosecute it by the best means they could.

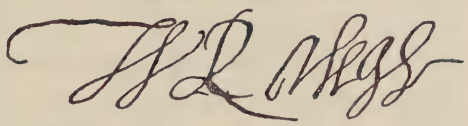
[1] In this very year of 1620, appeared at Amsterdam two brochures depicting the cruelties perpetrated by the Spaniards in the Netherlands and in America. The Belgic scenes, twenty in number, were described by Jan Everaard Cloppenburg, and the American, seventeen plates, were used as illustrations of Las Casas. Published at this time, when the truce of twelve years was about to end, the horrible pictures could well serve to excite the people of Holland against their would-be conquerors, and deter the Leyden congregation from adventuring within the reach of so cruel and murderous fanatics.

The .5. Chap[ter]

Shewing what means they used for preparation to this waightie vioag.

AND first, after thir humble praiers unto God, for his direction, and assistance, and a generall confferrence held hear aboute, they consulted what perticuler place to pitch upon, and prepare for. Some (and none of the meanest) had thoughts, and were ernest for Guiana,[1] or some of those

[1] Sir Walter Ralegh issued his *Discoverie of the large, rich and bewtifvl Empyre of Gviana, with a relation of the great and Golden Citie of Manoa (which the Spanyards call El Dorado,)* in 1596. It was translated into Dutch and printed in 1598; into Latin, to be included in De Bry, in 1599; and in the same year and the same language, in Hulsius. Later Hulsius issued a German edition. The



subject and manner of presentation appealed to the cupidity of adventurers, and this will account for the popularity of the book. Lawrence Keymis's *Relation of the Second Voyage to Guiana*, dedicated to Ralegh, was also printed in 1596, and passed into a Dutch translation in 1598. Ralegh's *Discoverie*, with Keymis's at the end, was again issued in the Dutch tongue in 1617, by Michiel Colijn, of Amsterdam, an overdrawn picture of possible wealth. Ralegh had now paid by his life the penalty of his eagerness to obtain the favor of his royal mistress by realizing his dreams of enormously rich mines of the precious metals in Guiana. In the re-issue of Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*, by the Hakluyt Society (x. 384), Ralegh's own map of Guiana is reproduced, with the fabled city and lake of Manoa and El Dorado upon it, sufficient evidence, even for that day, of the wildness of his project and the absence of knowledge of the region. Robert Harcourt, with a company of adventurers, sailed to Guiana in 1609, and took possession in the king's name of a tract of country lying between the Amazon and the Dollesquebe. He left a colony there, under his brother Michael, and returning to England, obtained a patent giving him power to plant and inhabit the land he had taken. A series of misfortunes followed, and in the end the colony came to naught. He wrote *Relation of a Voyage to Gviana*, which was printed in 1613, and was included in Purchas's *Pilgrimes*, pt. iv. Like Captain John Smith's *Description of New England*, it was dedicated to Prince Charles. This colony must have been

fertill places in those hott climates; others were for some parts of Virginia, wher the English had all ready made enterance, and begining.[1] Those for Guiana aledged that the c[o]untrie was rich, fruitfull, and blessed with a perpetuall spring, and a florishing greenes; where vigorous nature brought forth all things in abundance, and plentie without any great labour, or art of man. So as it must needs make the inhabitants rich; seing less provissions of clothing and other things, would serve, then in more coulder, and less fruitfull countries must be had. As also that the Spaniards (haveing much more then they could possess) had not yet planted there, nor any wher very near the same. But to this it was answered, that out of question, the countrie was both frutfull, and pleasante; and might yeeld riches, and maintenance to the possessors, more easily then the other; yet, other things considered, it would not be so fitt for them. And first that shuch hott countries are subject to greevos diseases, and many noysome Impediments, which other more temperate places are freer from and would not so well agree with our English bodys.[2] Againe if they should ther live,

known in Holland, as the Dutch traded with the Indians there, and some of the Harcourt colony "richly returned from the Amazon in a Holland ship," in March, 1617, and it was said their cargo was tobacco, which sold for £2,300, and some gold ingots. These men intended to return to Guiana. In 1629 (?) the Council stopped some Englishmen who intended to go to Guiana with an Irishman, William Gayner. Gayner proposed to sail from Holland, and it was feared that he would take the Dutch to the Amazon, and cause quarrels and bloodshed between the two nations. *Calendar of State Papers*, Colonial, 1574–1660, 218. See also references to Guiana in *Acts of the Privy Council*, Colonial Series, I.

[1] The Virginia Company received its charter in 1606, and for ten years struggled to obtain money and adventurers, issuing broadsides giving the conditions of a voyage and describing the kind of emigrants desired. Occasion arose also to make reply to the attacks made upon the company and the country of Virginia, and to spread a knowledge of the plantation a series of nine tracts was printed before 1616, of which the two latest in date, Whitaker's *Good Newes from Virginia* (1613), and Hamor's *Trve Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia* (1615), were the more important. See Miss Susan L. Kingsbury's Introduction to the *Records of the Virginia Company of London*, I. 32. Any of these issues may have come to the notice of the English in Leyden.

[2] Charles Leigh's plantation at Wiapoco, in Guiana, suffered much from sickness.

A RELATION OF A VOYAGE TO GVIANA.

DESCRIBING THE CLIMAT,

Scituation, fertilitie, prouiſions and commodities of that Country, containing ſeuen Prouinces, and other Signiories within that Territory: Together, with the manners, cuſtomes, behauiors, and diſpoſitions of the people.

Performed by ROBERT HARCOVRT, *of* Stanton Harcourt *Eſquire.*

The Patent for the Plantation of which Country, *his Maieſtie hath granted to the ſaid* ROBERT HARCOVRT vnder the Great Seale.

NOMB. 14. 7, 8.

The Land which we walked thorow to ſearch it, it is a very good Land. If the Lord loue vs, he will bring vs into this land, and wil giue it vs.



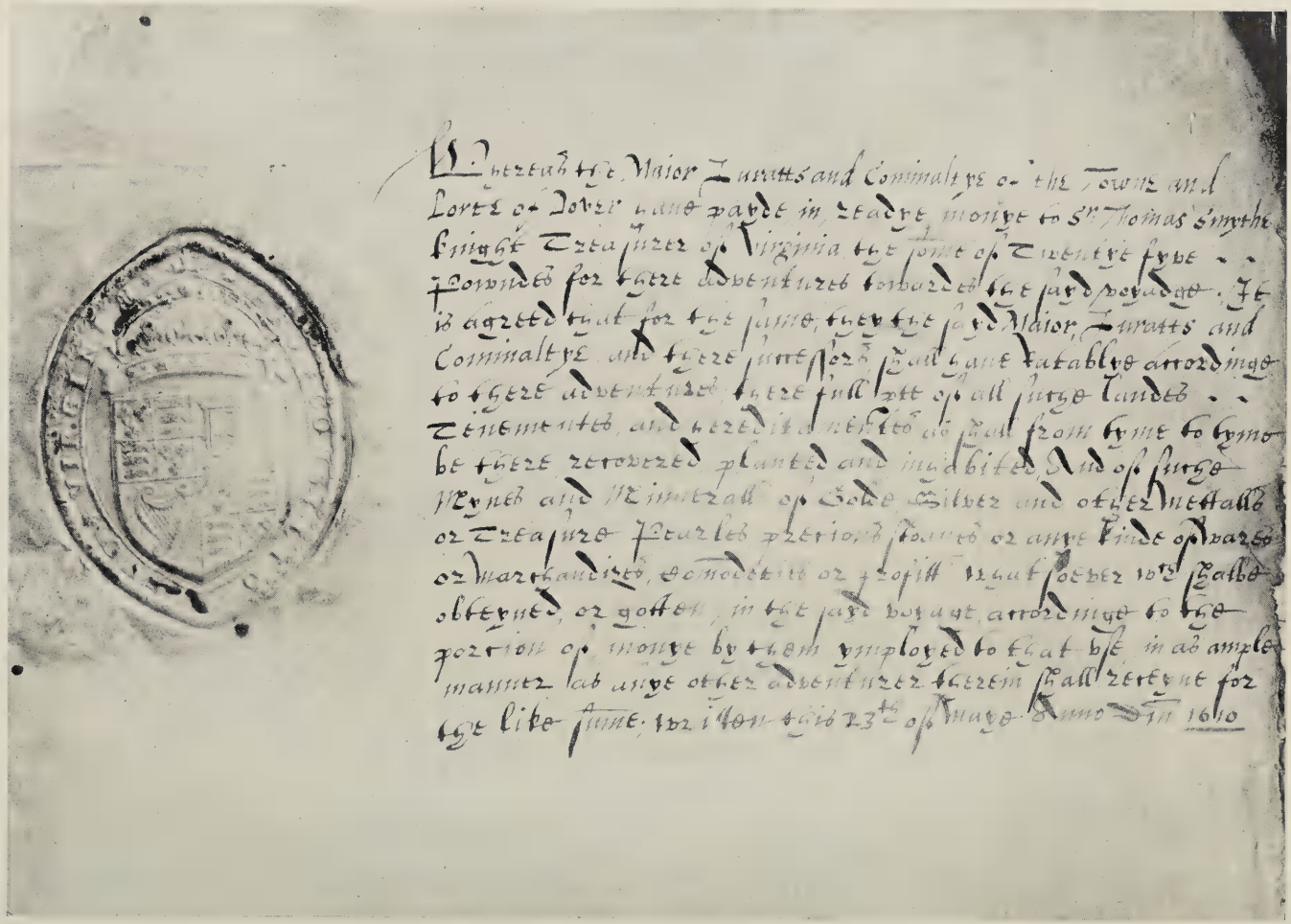
AT LONDON
Printed by IOHN BEALE, for W. WEIBY, and are to be ſold at his ſhop in Pauls Church yard at the ſigne of the Swan. 1613.

and doe well, the jealous Spaniard would never suffer them long; but would displante, or overthrow them. As he did the French in Florida; who were seated furder from his richest countries; and the sooner because they should have none to protect them; and their owne strength, would be too smale to resiste so potente an enemie, and so neare a neighbor.[1]

"Many of our men fell sicke, some of Agues, some of Fluxes, some of giddinesse in their heads, whereby they would often fall downe: which grew chiefly of the excessiue heate of the Sunne in the day, and of the extreame dampe of the earth." They suffered also from a worm or tick, called *niguas*, which crept under the nails of the toes and tortured them. Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, IV. 1252. The Indians warned Harcourt against settling in the same place, and drew him to Cooshebery, "for the most part champian ground, naturally intermixt of plaine fields, fruitefull meadowes, and goodly woods, in such admirable order, as if they had beene planted artificially by handy labour." *Ib.* 1271.

"The Winter and Summer as touching colde and heate differ not, neither doe the trees ever sensibly lose their leaves, but have alwayes fruit either ripe or greene, and most of them both blossome, leaves, ripe fruite, and greene at one time." Sir Walter Ralegh, *Discoverie of Guiana*, in Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, III. 653. "Both for health, good ayre, pleasure, and riches I am resolved it cannot bee equalled by any region either in the East or West. Moreover the countrey is so healthfull, as of an hundred persons and more (which lay without shift most sluttishly, and were every day almost melted with heate in rowing and marching, and suddenly wet againe with great showers, and did eate of all sorts of corrupt fruits, and made meales of fresh fish without seasoning, of Tortugas, of Lagartos or Crocodiles, and of all sorts good and bad, without either order or measure, and besides lodged in the open aire every night) we lost not any one, nor had one ill disposed to my knowledge, nor found any Calentura, or other of those pestilent diseases which dwell in all hot regions, and so neere the Equinoctiall line." *Ib.* 660. "The Spaniards are therein so dispersed, as they are no where strong, but in Nueva Espanna onely: the sharpe mountaines, the thornes, and poysoned prickles, the sandie and deepe wayes in the valleys, the smothering heate and aire, and want of water in other places are their onely and best defence." *Ib.* 661.

[1] The destruction of the French colony of Ribault by Menendez in 1565. The crime and its punishment are detailed in Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World*, chaps. VII. VIII. IX. The letters of Menendez to Philip II. in 1565 and 1566, giving an account of his actions, are printed in 2 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, VIII. 416. The account by Ribault of his first voyage was printed in English in 1563, and states that it is "now newly set forthe in Englishe," although no original French edition of the work is known. Three years later Le Challeux printed at Dieppe his account of the



SUBSCRIPTION TO LONDON COMPANY OF VIRGINIA, 1610

On the other hand, for Virginia, it was objected; that if they lived among the English which wear ther planted, or so near them as to be under their goverment; they should be in as great danger to be troubled, and persecuted for the cause of religion, as if they lived in England, and it might be worse. And if they lived too farr of, they should neither have succour, nor defence frome them.[1]

But at length the conclusion was, to live as a distincte body by them selves, under the generall Goverment of Virginia;[2] and by

last voyage of Ribault and the destruction of the French colony in Florida, and an English translation issued from a London press in the same year. These volumes are in the John Carter Brown library, Providence, R. I.

[1] By the first charter granted April 10, 1606, Virginia, a strip of land one hundred miles in width, lying on the Atlantic coast of North America from the thirty-fourth to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude, was divided into two parts. The southerly, reaching to the forty-first degree, was given to the "first colony," composed of certain "knights, Gentlemen, Merchants and other Adventurers of London and else where;" the northerly, extending from the thirty-eighth to the forty-fifth degree, was granted to a second colony made up of adventurers from the cities of Bristol and Exeter, the town of Plymouth and else where. The territory afterwards known as New England thus fell to the second colony, and the persons mentioned in the charter were Thomas Hanham, Ralegh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham. In 1607 was sent out the so-called Popham colony, for the Sagadahoc or Kennebec River, a commercial venture begun by Chief Justice John Popham, brother to George Popham, and whose daughter was mother of Thomas Hanham. It failed, and not until the voyage of Smith in 1614 could interest in the second colony be revived, when Sir Ferdinando Gorges becomes the ruling spirit. The charter of 1606 is in Hazard, I. 50.

[2] New England, the northern part of the Virginia Company's grant of 1606, does not appear to have been considered by the Leyden church company as a possible place of settlement. On the failure of the Popham colony, near the mouth of the Kennebec, in 1608, the region came to be esteemed "a cold, barren, mountainous, rocky Desart," and to be branded as "over cold, and in respect of that not habitable by our nation." Smith, *Generall Historie*, 204; Gorges, *Briefe Narration*, 11.

Upon his return from New England in August, 1614, Smith confided to his "honorable friende Sir Ferdinando Gorge" his ambitions to make a settlement, and was encouraged to believe that he would be given the means and authority. He even retained in his service Michael Cooper, the master, but the London Company not only enticed Cooper away, but offered employment to Smith. Four ships were sent out from London "before they at Plimouth had made any prouision at all." Later one

their freinds to sue to his majestie that he would be pleased to grant them freedome of Religion; and that this might be obtained, they weer putt in good hope (by some great persons, of good ranke and qualitie) that were made their freinds. Whereupon ·2· were chos[19]en and sent in to England (at the charge of the rest) to sollicite this matter;[1] who found the Virginia Company very desirous to have them goe thither. And willing to grante them a patent, with as ample priviliges as they had, or could grant to any, and to give them the best furderance they could. And some of the cheefe of that company douted not to obtaine their suite of the king for liberty in Religion, and to have it confirmed under the kings broad seale, according to their desires. But it prooved a harder peece of worke then they tooke it for; for though many means were used to bring it aboute, yet it could not be effected; for ther were diverse of good worth laboured with the king to obtaine it (amongst whom was one

vessel was despatched, chiefly set out by Sir Ferdinando, which made a bootless voyage, returning "as she went, and did little or nothing, but lost her time." Smith's refusal caused some displeasure against him in the Southern company, "whose fauor and loue I exceedingly desire, if I may honestly injoy it. . . . Hauing ingaged my selfe in this businesse to the West Countrie; I had beene verie dishonest to haue broke my promise; nor will I spend more time in discouerie, or fishing, till I may goe with a companie for plantation: for, I know my grounds." When Smith was sent out in 1615, it was nominally under the West Country people, but the larger support came from some of his friends in London. *Description of New England*, 66, 68.

Smith's enthusiastic account of the territory, published in 1616, had for its immediate object the encouragement of fishing ventures; but he, knowing "a ring of golde from a graine of barley, as well as a goldesmith," also claimed to have made known to his employers, "a fit place for plantation, limited within the bounds of your Patent and Commission." *Description of New England*, Letter to Adventurers.

[1] "Now these their private thoughts upon mature deliberation they imparted to the Brethren of the Congregation, which after much private discussion came to publike agitation, till at length the Lord was solemnly sought in the Congregation by fasting and prayer to direct us, who moving our hearts more and more to the worke, wee sent some of good abilities over into *England* to see what favour or acceptance such a thing might finde with the King." Winslow, *Hypocrisie Unmasked*, *89.

The messengers sent were Robert Cushman and John Carver. They went in the autumn of 1617. See p. 109, *infra*.

To
The Worshipfull the Master Wardens
& Societie of the Cordewayners of
Worthie Gentlemen the Cittie of London.

Not only in regard of your Courtisie & Love, Butt also of yr Continuall vse I haue had of your Labours, & the hope you may make some vse of mine I salute yo with this Cronologicall discourse; whereof yo may vnderstand with what infinite difficulties & dangers those Plantations first began, with ther yearlie proceedings, & the plaine description & Condition of those Countries; How many of your Company haue bin Adventurers, whose Names are omitted or not nominated in the Alphabett I know not, therefore I intreate yo better to informe me, that I may hereafter imprint yo amongst the Rest, Butt of this I am sure for want of shoes among the Oyster Bankes wee tore our hatts & Clothes & those being worne, wee tied Barkes of trees about our feete to Keepe them from being Cutt by the shelles amongst which wee must goe or starue, yett how many thousands of shooes hath bin transported to those plantations, how many Soldiers Marriners & Saylors haue bin & are likely to be incouraged thereby, what vent your Comodities haue had & still haue, & how many Shipps & men of all Qualities haue bin & are yearelie employed I leaue to your owne Judgments, & yett by reason of ill managing, the Returnes haue neither answered the Generall Expectation nor my desires. the Causes thereof yo may reade at Large in this Booke for your better Satisfaction, & I pray yo take it not in ill part that I presente the Same to yo in this manuscript Epistle for Late, for both it & I my Self haue bin soe outstrid by attendances that this Work of mine doth become to be Superannuated before its Birth, notwithstanding Let me intreat yo to giue it lodging in your Hall Freelie to be perused for euer, in memorie of your Kyndnesse towards mee, & my Loue to God, my Countrie, your Societie & those Plantations, Euer resting

Yours to vse

John Smith.

LETTER OF CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH [1]

[1] See 2 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, XII. 158.

of his cheefe secretaries)[1] and some other wrought with the archbishop to give way therunto, but it proved all in vaine. Yet thus farr they prevailed, in sounding his majesties mind, that he would connive at them, and not molest them (provided they carried them

[1] Sr Robart Nanton.— BRADFORD. Sir Robert Naunton (1563–1635), received on January 8, 1617–18, through the influence of the Duke of Buckingham, the office of Secretary of State. A warm protestant, he opposed the king's project of a Spanish marriage. Indeed, he incurred the disfavor of the King by interfering in the hope of securing an alliance with the French King. By 1623 he had practically retired from political activity, and received the lucrative office of master of the Court of Wards. The Pilgrims made much of his countenance, although his support, as it turned, could not accomplish what they desired. In his petition from the Fleet Prison, in 1635, Winslow wrote: "That how ever we disliked many things in practice heere [in England] in respect of church ceremony yet chose rather to leave the country then be accounted troublers of it, and therefore went into Holland. And that from thence we procured a motion to be made to his Majestie of late and famous memory for liberty of conscience in America, under his gracious protection which his Majestie thinking very reasonable (as Sir Robert Naunton principall Secretary to the State in that time can testifie) we cheerfully proceeded and afterwards procured a commission for the ordering of our body politick." *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, v. 131. And, in 1646, in his *Hypocrisie Unmasked* (89): "These [the messengers sent to England] also found God going along with them, and got Sir Edwin Sands a religious Gentlemen then living, to stirre in it, who procured Sir Robert Naunton then principall Secretary of State to King James of famous memory, to move his Majesty by a private motion to give way to such a people (who could not so comfortably live under the Government of another State) to enjoy their liberty of Conscience under his gracious protection in America, where they would endeavour the advancement of his Majesties Dominions, and the enlargement of the Gospel by all due meanes. This his Majesty said was a good and honest motion, and asking what profits might arise in the part wee intended (for our eye was upon the most Northern parts of Virginia) 'twas answered, Fishing. To which he replyed with his ordinary asseveration, So God have my Soule 'tis an honest Trade, 'twas the Apostles owne calling, &c. But afterwards he told Sir Robert Naunton (who took all occasions to further it) that we should confer with the Bishops of Canterbury [George Abbot] and London [John King], &c. Whereupon wee were advised to persist upon his first approbation, and not to entangle our selves with them. Which caused our Agents to repair to the Virginia Company, who in their Court demanded our ends of going; which being related, they said the thing was of God, and granted a large Patent, and one of them lent us 300 *l* gratis for three years, which was repaid."

"When some of ours desired to have planted themselves there [Virginia], with his

selves peacably). But to allow, or tollerate them by his publick authoritie, under his seale, they found it would not be. And this was all (the cheefe of the Virginia companie) or any other of their best freinds could doe in the case. Yet they perswaded them to goe on, for they presumed they should not be troubled. And with this answer the messengers returned, and signified what diligence had bene used and to what issue things were come.

But this made a dampe in the bussines, and caused some distraction, for many were afraid that if they should unsetle them selves, and put of their estates, and goe upon these hopes, it might prove dangerous, and but a sandie foundation. Yea, it was thought they might better have presumed hear upon without makeing any suite at all, then, haveing made it, to be thus rejected. But some of the cheefest thought other wise, and that they might well proceede hereupon, and that the kings majestie was willing enough to suffer them without molestation; though for other reasons he would not confirme it by any publick acte. And furdermore, if ther was no securitie in this promise intimated, ther would be no great certainty in a furder



SEAL OF THE VIRGINIA COMPANY

majesties leaue upon these three grounds, first that they might be means of replanting the gospel amongst the heathens. Secondly, that they might liue vnder the King's government. Thirdly, that they might make way for, and unite with others, what in them lieth, whose consciences are grieved with the state of the Church in England: the Byshops did by all means oppose them, and their friends therein." William Euring, *An Answver to the Ten Covnter Demands, propovnded by T. Drakes* (1619 [i.e. 16]6. Dexter suggests that the writer used a fictitious name. See p. 73, *infra*.

confirmation of the same; for if after wards ther should be a purpose or desire to wrong them, though they had a seale as broad as the house flore, it would not serve the turne; for ther would be means enew found to recall or reverse it. Seeing therfore the course was probable, they must rest herein on Gods providence, as they had done in other things.

Upon this resolution, other messengers wear dispatched, to end with the Virginia Company as well as they could. And to procure [20] a patent with as good and ample conditions as they might by any good means obtaine. As also to treate and conclude with shuch marchants and other freinds as had manifested their forwardnes to provoke too and adventure in this vioage. For which end they had instructions given them upon what conditions they should procceed with them, or els to conclude nothing without further advice. And here it will be requisite to inserte a letter or too that may give light to these proceedings.

A coppie of leter from Sir Edwin Sands,[1] *directed to Mr. John Robinson and Mr. William Brewster.*

After my hartie salutations. The agents of your congregation, Robert Cushman and John Carver, have been in communication with

[1] Edwin Sandys (1516?–1588), father of Sir Edwin, well known for his interest in the Virginia Company, had been an exile to the continent in the reign of Queen Mary, but returning after her death, became Bishop of London (1570) and later Archbishop of York (1576). His son, Samuel, held a lease of the manor and mills at Scrooby, and it was of Samuel that William Brewster held the manor house. This connection may account for the application to the Virginia Company through Sir Edwin Sandys, who had gained the ascendancy in that corporation in this very year (1619). Brewster would have been known to Samuel, and could by that means have approached Sir Edwin. His selection as intermediary was probably unfortunate, inasmuch as the course of his conduct in the Parliament of 1614 had drawn upon him the displeasure of the King, and led to his being summoned before the Council to answer for his speeches. Dismissed without discipline, he remained under surveillance, and, as no Parliament sat for six years, was not given an opportunity to purge himself of suspected opposition to the King's measures. When the new Parliament assembled in 1621, Sandys acted with the popular party. A note of a conversation, held by Sir Nathaniel Rich

1 The confession of faith published in the name of the Church of England and to be subscribed unto by all persons of the reformed religion who live and age shall assent unto.

2 We receive the ordinances of discipline of the Church of England and do reject the contrary opinions of the Anabaptists and all other sectaries in the land, conformable and reformable as they are called, we decline from neither and will live orderly to keep communion and walk with all men in all things appertaining to honesty.

3 The King's Majesty is acknowledged supreme governor in this dominion in all causes and over all persons, and that no foreign power or appeal from his authority or judgment in any cause whatsoever but is in all things obedience is due unto him, other orders of things commanded by him not against God's word or prohibition is not to be disobeyed nor pardon can be obtained.

4 We hold it lawful for his Majesty to appoint bishops, chancellors or officers in ecclesiastical causes under him in the several parts of his congregations, or parishes to govern the churches and ordain them visibly according to the laws of the land unto whom they are in all things to yield an account and by them to be ordered according to godliness.

5 The ecclesiastical and synodal bishops in the land we do acknowledge so far forth as it stands indued from his Majesty unto them and as the precepts in his name, them we will also therein in all things and crimes in them.

6 We hold it no simony, extortion or unlawfully to receive and take any power or authority at all but as it is given by the magistrate power unto them.

7 Lastly we do vow unto all superiors [illegible] to profess the unity of the Spirit in all true godliness, to keep peace with all men we can in holiness and diligence we are to be found unblameable by them.

Till subscribed by John Robinson and many more Brethren

HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE

diverse selecte gentlemen of his Majesties Counsell for Virginia; and by the writing of ·7· Articles subscribed with your names, have given them that good degree of satisfaction, which hath caried them on with a resolution to sett forward your desire in the best sorte that may be, for your owne and the publick good.[1] Divers perticulers wherof we leave to their faithfull reporte; having carried them selves heere with

with Captain John Bargrave concerning Sir Edwin Sandys and his opposition to monarchical government in general, states that Sandys had moved the Archbishop of Canterbury, unsuccessfully, to "give leave to the Brownists and Separatists to go to Virginia, and designed to make a free popular State there, and himself and his assured friends to be the leaders." The note is dated May 16, 1623. *Historical Mss. Com.*, Eighth Report, II. 45.

[1] These seven articles were as follows:

"Seven Artikles which the Church of Leyden sent to the Counsell of England to bee considered of in respeckt of their judgments occasioned about theer going to Virginia Anno 1618.

"1. To the confession of fayth published in the name of the Church of England and to every artikell theerof wee do with the reformed churches wheer wee live and also els where assent wholy.

"2. As wee do acknolidg the docktryne of fayth theer tawght so do wee the fruites and effeckts of the same docktryne to the begetting of saving fayth in thousands in the land (conformistes and reformistes) as they ar called with whom also as with our bretheren wee do desyer to keepe sperituall communion in peace and will practis in our partes all lawfull thinges.

"3. The King's Majesty wee acknolidg for Supreame Governer in his Dominion in all causes and over all parsons, and that none maye decklyne or apeale from his authority or judgment in any cause whatsoever, but that in all thinges obedience is dewe unto him, ether active, if the thing commanded be not agaynst God's woord, or passive yf itt bee, except pardon can bee obtayned.

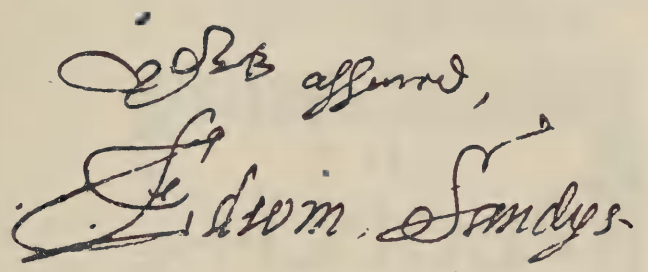
"4. Wee judg itt lawfull for his Majesty to apoynt bishops, civill overseers, or officers in awthoryty onder hime, in the severall provinces, dioses, congregations or parrishes to oversee the Churches and governe them civilly according to the Lawes of the Land, untto whom they ar in all thinges to geve an account and by them to bee ordered according to Godlynes.

"5. The authoryty of the present bishops in the Land wee do acknolidg so far forth as the same is indeed derived from his Majesty untto them and as they proseed in his name, whom wee will also theerein honor in all thinges and hime in them.

"6. Wee beleeve that no sinod, classes, convocation or assembly of Eclesiasticall Officers hath any power or awthoryty att all but as the same by the Majestraet geven unto them.

"7. Lastly, wee desyer to geve untto all Superiors dew honnor to preserve the unity

that good discretion, as is both to their owne and their credite from whence they came. And wheras being to treate for a multitude of people, they have requested further time to conferr with them that are to be interested in this action, aboute the severall particularities which in the prosecution therof will fall out considerable, it hath been very willingly assented too. And so they doe now returne unto you. If therfore it may please God so to directe your desires as that on your parts ther fall out no just impediments, I trust by the same direction it shall likewise appear, that on our parte, all forwardnes to set you forward shall be found in the best sorte which with reason may be expected. And so I betake you with this designe (which I hope verily is the worke of God), to the gracious protection and blessing of the Highest.



London, November 12. Your very loving freind
Anº: 1617. Edwin Sandys.

of the speritt with all that feare God, to have peace with all men what in us lyeth and wheerein wee err to bee instructed by any. Subscribed by

John Robinson, and Willyam Bruster."

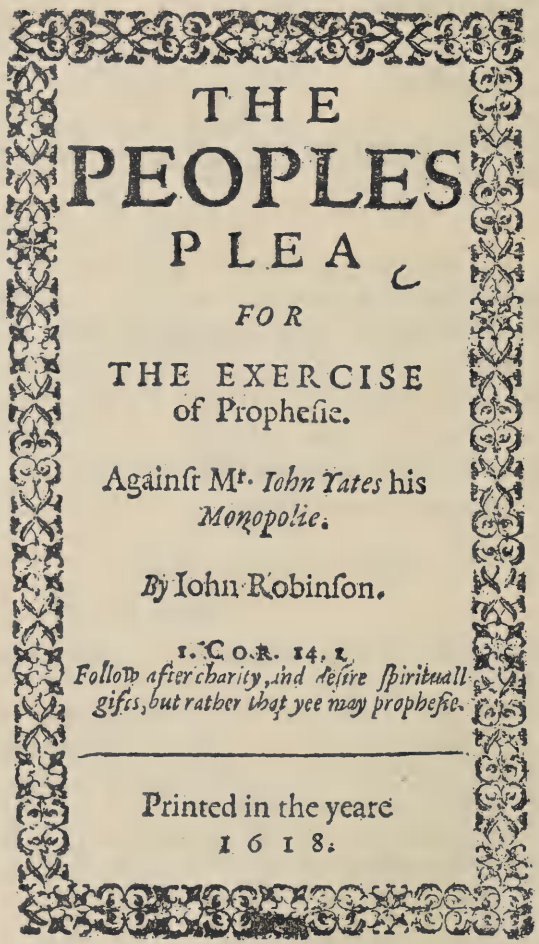
The same views are expressed in Robinson's *Just and Necessary Apology*, printed in 1619. See *Bancroft to Moore*, October 3, 1856, in *Coll. N. Y. Hist. Soc.*, 2nd Ser., III. 296. It was Bancroft who first discovered these Articles in the British Public Records office. He admits that he was not able to determine who was responsible for the failure of this advance, and shows that the opposition was not confined to the Church. For Lord Bacon, a defender of prerogative, believed that the State Church only should be allowed in the plantations, "else it will make a schism and a rent in Christ's coat, which must be seamless." Letter to Sir George Villiers. The well-known views and fixed policy of James I as respects religious conformity sufficiently explain the denial of the request.

These seven "articles" were discussed outside of the Virginia Company; for Thomas Drakes (or Drax as he is called in Newcourt, *Repertorium* (ed. 1710), II. 220), vicar of Harwich and Dovercourt, printed *Ten Counter Demands propounded to the Separatists*

Their answer was as foloweth [1]

RIGHTE WOR[SHIPFULL]:

Our humble duties remembred, in our owne, our messengers, and our churches name, with all thankfull acknowledgmente of your singuler love, ex[21]pressing itselfe, as otherwise, so more spetially in your great care and earnest endeavor of our good in this weightie bussines aboute Virginia, which the less able we are to requite, we shall thinke our selves the more bound to commend in our prayers unto God for recompence; whom, as for the presente you rightly behould in our indeavors, so shall we not be wanting on our parts (the same God assisting us) to returne all answerable fruite, and respecte unto the laboure of your love bestowed upon us. We have, with the best speed and consideration withall that we could, sett downe our requests in writing, subscribed, as you

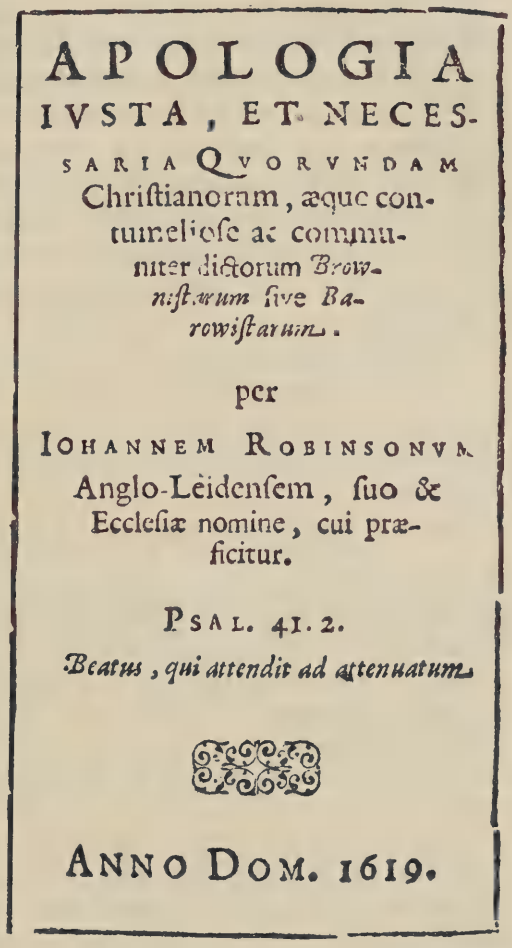

THE
PEOPLES
PLEA
FOR
THE EXERCISE
of Propheſie.
Againſt Mr. *Iohn Yates* his
Monopolie.
By Iohn Robinſon.
1. COR. 14. 1.
Follow after charity, and deſire ſpirituall gifts, but rather that yee may propheſie.
Printed in the yeare
1618.

against their Seven Demands (1618?), of which no copy is known. It was in reply to Drakes that Euring issued his tract. Arber, *Story of the Pilgrim Fathers*, 282.

[1] "If both these agents returned to Leyden at this time, it would appear from the following letter of Robinson and Brewster, that Carver was sent back again the next month (December), to continue the negotiations with the Council of Virginia; having

willed, with the hands of the greatest parte of our congregation, and have sente the same unto the Counsell by our agente, and a deacon of our church, John Carver, unto whom we have also requested a gentleman of our company to adyone him selfe; to the care and discretion of which two, we doe refferr the prosecuting of the bussines. Now we perswade our selves Right Worships that we need not provoke your godly and loving minde to any further or more tender care of us, since you have pleased so farr to interest us in your selfe, that, under God, above all persons and things in the world, we relye upon you, expecting the care of your love, counsell of your wisdome, and the help and countenance of your authority. Notwithstanding, for your encouragmente in the worke, so farr as probabilities may leade, we will not forbeare to mention these instances of indusmente.

1. We veryly beleeve and


APOLOGIA
IVSTA, ET NECESSARIA QVORVNDAM
Christianorum, æque contumelioſe ac communiter dictorum *Brownistarum ſive Barowiſtarum*.

per

IOHANNEM ROBINSONVM
Anglo-Leidenſem, ſuo & Eccleſiæ nomine, cui præficitur.

PSAL. 41. 2.
Beatus, qui attendit ad attenuatum.

ANNO DOM. 1619.

a 'gentleman of their company' associated with him in the agency. The time of his return from this *second* visit is not given. Subsequently, Cushman and Brewster were sent over, and were doubtless the messengers alluded to by Bradford on p. 70, who 'were dispatched to end with the Virginia Company.' The time of their arrival in London or return to Leyden is uncertain, but it is certain that they had been in England for some time at the date of Cushman's letter (May 8, 1619) on pp. 84–90." DEANE.

trust the Lord is with us, unto whom and whose service we have given our selves in many trialls; and that he will graciously prosper our indeavours according to the simplicitie of our harts therin.

2ly. We are well weaned from the dellicate milke of our mother countrie, and enured to the difficulties of a strange and hard land, which yet in a great parte we have by patience overcome.

3ly. The people are for the body of them, industrious, and frugall, we thinke we may safly say, as any company of people in the world.

4ly. We are knite togeather as a body in a most stricte and sacred bond and covenante of the Lord, of the violation * wherof we make great conscience, and by vertue wherof we doe hould our selves straitly tied to all care of each others good, and of the whole by every one and so mutually.

5. Lastly, it is not with us as with other men, whom small things can discourage, or small discontentments cause to wish them selves at home againe. We knowe our entertainmente in England, and in Holand; we shall much prejudice both our arts and means by removall; who, if we should be driven to returne, we should not hope to recover our present helps and comforts, neither indeed looke ever, for our

* Note. — O sacred bond, whilst inviollably preserved! how sweete and precious were the fruits that flowed from the same! but when this fidelity decayed, then their ruine approached. O that these anciente members had not dyed, or been dissipated, (if it had been the will of God) or els that this holy care and constante faithfullnes had still lived, and remained with those that survived, and were in times afterwards added unto them. But (alass) that subtill serpente hath slylie wound in him selfe under faire pretences of necessitie and the like, to untwiste these sacred bonds and tyes, and as it were insensibly by degrees to dissolve, or in a great measure to weaken, the same. I have been happy, in my first times, to see, and with much comforte to injoye, the blessed fruits of this sweete communion, but it is now a parte of my miserie in old age, to find and feele the decay and wante therof (in a great measure), and with greefe and sorrow of hart to lamente and bewaile the same. And for others warning and admonnition, and my owne humiliation, doe I hear note the same.[1]

[1] The above reflections of the author were penned at a later period, on the reverse pages of his History, at this place. Deane.

selves, to attaine unto the like in any other place during our lives, which are now drawing towards their periods. [22]

These motives we have been bould to tender unto you, which you in your wisdome may also imparte to any other our wor[shi]pps freinds of the Counsell with you; of all whose godly dispossition and loving towards our despised persons, we are most glad, and shall not faile by all good means to continue and increase the same. We will not be further troublesome, but doe, with the renewed remembrance of our humble duties to your Wor[shi]pps and (so farr as in modestie we may be bould) to any other of our wellwillers of the Counsell with you, we take our leaves, commiting your persons and counsels to the guidance and direction of the Allmighty.

Yours much bounden in all duty,

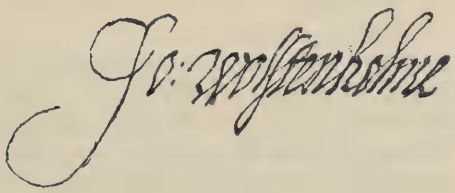
Leyden, Desem: 15. An°: 1617.

JOHN ROBINSON,
WILLIAM BREWSTER.

For further light in these proceedings see some other letters and notes as followeth.

The coppy of a letter sent to Sir John Worssenham.[1]

RIGHT WOR[SHIPFU]LL: With due acknowledgmente of our thankfullnes for your singular care and pains in the bussines of Virginia, for our, and, we hope, the commone good, we doe remember our humble dutys unto you, and have sent inclosed, as is required, a further explanation of our judgments in the ·3· points specified by some of his majesties Hon[ora]bl[e] Privie Counsell; and though it be greevious unto us that shuch unjust insinuations are made against us, yet we are most



[1] Sir John Wolstenholme (1562–1639) was a merchant adventurer, deeply interested in commerce, colonization, and maritime discovery, and liberal in his assistance to many expeditions. He was in 1609 a member of the council of the Virginia Company, took an active part in its management, and in 1624 was one of the commissioners for closing its affairs. See *Dictionary of National Biography*.

glad of the occasion of making our just purgation unto so honourable personages. The declarations we have sent inclosed, the one more breefe and generall, which we thinke the fitter to be presented; the other something more large, and in which we express some smale accidentall differances, which if it seeme good unto you and other of our wor[shipful] freinds, you may send in stead of the former. Our prayers unto God is, that your Wor[shipps] may see the frute of your worthy endea[v]ours, which on our parts we shall not faile to furder by all good means in us. And so praing that you would please with the convenientest speed that may be, to give us knowledge of the success of the bussines with his majesties Privie Counsell, and accordingly what your further pleasure is, either for our direction or furtherance in the same, so we rest

Your Wor[ships] in all duty,

Leyden, Jan: 27.
Anº: 1617. old stile.[1]

John Robinson,
William Brewster.

The first breefe note was this.[2]

Touching the Ecclesiasticall ministrie, namly of pastores for teaching, elders for ruling, and deacons for distributing the churches contribution, as allso for the too Sacrements, baptisme, and the Lords supper, we doe wholy and in all points agree [23] with the French reformed churches, according to their publick confession of faith.[3]

[1] That is, 1618, new style.

[2] No specific reference to the subject is to be found in the records of the King's Privy Council. A meeting of the Council on December 4, 1617, was attended by "Lord Archbishop of Canterburie [George Abbot], Lord Keeper [Sir Francis Bacon], Lord Treasurer [Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk], Lord Priuie Seal [Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester], Lord Stewarde [William Cowper], Lord Chamberlain [Henry de Vere, Earl of Oxford], [Thomas Howard, second] Earl of Arundell, Lord Bishop of Elie [Lancelot Andrewes], [Edward] Lord Zouch, [Edward] Lord Wotton, [James] Lord Hay, Mr. Comptroller [Sir Henry Cary], Mr. Secretarie [Ralph Winwood], Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer [Fulke Greville], Master of the Rolles [Sir Julius Caesar], Sir Edward Coke." *Acts of the Privy Council*, Colonial, I. 13. To the clerical members, especially, the subject would be of great interest. They with Archbishop Abbott in the lead doubtless framed or inspired the "three points," and were the members referred to in the letter.

[3] This statement was used by those hostile to the plantation in 1625. See p. 423, *infra*.

The oath of Supremacie[1] we shall willingly take if it be required of us, and that conveniente satisfaction be not given by our taking the oath of Alleagence.[2]

JOHN ROB:
WILLIAM BREWSTER.

When the fugitives from persecution in Queen Mary's time came, in 1554, to Frankfort they were offered the French Church as a place of worship on condition that they should not dissent from the doctrine or ceremonies therein used. A further stipulation was made, that before they entered their church, they should approve and subscribe the same confession of faith that the Frenchmen had then presented and were about to put in print. The English accepted these conditions and made the necessary subscriptions. *Brief Discourse of the Troubles begun at Frankfort.* The attitude of the Leyden church towards the Dutch and French churches, "which we acknowledge for true churches," is stated in Robinson, *Works*, III. 128. See p. 389, *infra.*

[1] The oath of supremacy, passed in 1 Eliz. c. 1 (1558), read as follows: "I, A. B., do utterly testify and declare, that the queen's highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, and all other her highness's dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual and ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal; and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm; and therefore I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign jurisdictions, powers, superiorities, and authorities, and do promise that from henceforth I shall bear faith and true allegiance to the queen's highness, her heirs and lawful successors, and to my power shall assist and defend all jurisdictions, pre-eminences, privileges, and authorities, granted or belonging to the queen's highness, her heirs and successors, or united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm." The oath and exposition published to the ecclesiastical visitors of 1559 can be seen in Hallam, *Constitutional History of England* (4th ed.), I. 110 *n.* Under the conditions existing in 1617 no person could be transported to Virginia without first taking the oath of supremacy.

[2] The oath of allegiance, passed in 3 James I c. 4, 5 (1606), was as follows:

"I, A. B., do truely and sincerely acknowledge, professe, testifie, and declare in my conscience before God and the world, That our Soueraigne Lord King IAMES, is lawfull and rightfull King of this Realme, and of all other his Maiesties Dominions and Countries; And that the Pope neither of himselfe, nor by any authoritie of the Church or See of Rome, or by any other meanes with any other hath any power or Authoritie to depose the King, or to dispose any of his Maiesties Kingdomes, or Dominions, or to authorize any forraigne Prince to inuade or annoy him, or his Countreys, or to discharge any of his Subjects of their allegiance and obedience to his Maiestie, or to giue license or leaue to any of them to beare Armes, raise tumult, or to offer any

The ·2· was this.

Touching the Ecclesiasticall ministrie, etc. as in the former, we agree in all things with the French reformed churches, according to their publick confession of faith; though some small differences be to be found in our practises, not at all in the substance of the things, but only in some accidentall circumstances.

1. As first, their ministers doe pray with their heads covered; ours uncovered.

2. We chose none for Governing Elders but shuch as are able to teach; which abilitie they doe not require.

3. Their elders and deacons are annuall, or at most for ·2· or ·3· years; ours perpetuall.

Violence, or hurt to his Maiesties Royall Person, State, or gouernment, or to any of his Maiesties Subjects within his Maiesties Dominions.

"Also, I doe sweare from my heart, that notwithstanding any Declaration or sentence of Excommunication or deposition made or granted, or to be made or granted by the Pope or his Successours, or by any Authoritie deriued, or pretended to be deriued from him, or his See against the said King, his Heires or Successours, or any absolution of the said Subiects from their obedience: I will beare faith and true allegiance to his Maiestie, his Heires and Successours, and him and them will defend to the vttermost of my power, against all Conspiracies and attempts whatsoeuer, which shall bee made against his or their Persons, their Crowne and dignitie, by reason or colour of any such sentence or declaration or otherwise, and will doe my best endeuour to disclose and make knowen vnto his Maiestie, his Heires and Successours, all Treasons and Traiterous conspiracies, which I shall know or heare of to be against him or any of them.

"And I do further sweare, That I do from my heart abhor, detest and abiure, as impious and hereticall, this damnable doctrine and position, That Princes which be Excommunicated or depriued by the Pope, may be deposed or murthered by their Subiects, or any other whatsoeuer.

"And I doe beleeue and in conscience am resolued, that neither the Pope nor any person whatsoeuer, hath power to absolue mee of this Oath, or any part there-of, which I acknowledge by good and full authoritie to bee lawfully ministered vnto mee, and doe renounce all Pardons and dispensations to the contrary. And all these things I doe plainely and sincerely acknowledge and sweare, according to these expresse wordes by me spoken, and according to the plaine and common sense and vnderstanding of the same wordes, without any Equiuocation, or mentall euasion, or secret reseruation whatsoeuer. And I doe make this recognition and acknowledgment heartily, willingly, and truely, vpon the true faith of a Christian. So helpe me God."

By the King.

IT hath beene our deſire and diſpoſition in all the courſe of our Gouernment (as one of the beſt and ſafeſt remedies) to extend our naturall clemencie in forewarning Offenders where reaſon of State will not permit vs to vſe the ſame in diſpenſing with their offences; And hauing lately obſerued that diuers of our Subiects haue repaired into our Realme of England from the parts beyond the Seas (being perſons of meane condition, and of wandring courſe of life, and vnknowen to any of credit that might vndertake for them) who haue refuſed to take the Oath of allegeance, lately by our Parliament deuiſed: We can not but conceiue that ſuch perſons are not vnlike to become bad Inſtruments of practiſe and perill againſt our State. For conſidering that We had neuer any intention in the forme of that Oath to preſſe any point of Conſcience for matter of Religion, but only to make ſome diſcouerie of diſloyall affection: the refuſall thereof in any perſon muſt both induce a vehement ſuſpition in it ſelfe, and much more in ſuch a one as may be probably ſuppoſed to haue come from ſuch parts, where he may haue conuerſed with Traitors and Fugitiues, and is alſo of a needie fortune, which may make him apt for any dangerous or deſperate imployment: And therefore Wee haue reſolued, and accordingly doe charge and commaund all perſons authorized by Law, to miniſter the ſaid Oath, that taking information from the Officers of our Ports, and by all other good Wayes and meanes, they faile not to tender the ſame Oath at the Ports to all our Subiects comming from beyond the Seas, (not being knowen Merchants or men of ſome qualitie) and vpon refuſall thereof the Law to be ſeuerely executed, which willeth to commit them to Priſon vntill the next Aſſiſes, or Generall quarter Seſſions, and ſo vpon a ſecond refuſall to be brought within the degree of a Præmunire. Wherein, becauſe the penaltie is ſo grieuous (of which neuertheleſſe We can not in our Princely prouidence make any alteration) We haue thought good to notifie our reſolution, and order giuen therein, which We doubt not, but will be in ſmall time diſperſed abroad; to the end that ſuch as now are, or hereafter ſhalbe in forraine parts, and finde in their owne hearts ſuch affections, as can not ſtand with the ſaid Oath, may know their peril, and thereby either refraine their comming in, or expect the execution of our Lawes.

Giuen at our Palace of Weſtminſter the xxix. day of April in the ſixt yeere of our raigne of Great Britaine, France and Ireland.

God ſaue the King.

Imprinted at London by Robert Barker,
Printer to the Kings moſt Excellent Maieſtie.
Anno Dom. 1608.

4. Our elders doe administer their office in admonitions and excommunications for publick scandals, publickly and before the congregation; theirs more privatly, and in their consistories.

5. We doe administer baptisme only to shuch infants as wherof the one parente, at the least, is of some church, which some of ther churches doe not observe; though in it our practice accords with their publick confession and the judgmente of the most larned amongst them.[1]

Other differences, worthy mentioning, we know none in these points. Then aboute the oath, as in the former.

Subscribed, JOHN R.
W. B.

Part of another letter from him that delivered these.

London. Feb: 14. 1617.

Your letter to Sir John Worstenholme I delivered allmost as soone as I had it, to his owne hands, and staid with him the opening and reading. Ther were ·2· papers inclosed, he read them to him selfe, as also the letter, and in the reading he spake to me and said, Who shall make them, viz. the ministers; I answered his Worship that the power of making was in the church, to be ordained by the imposition of hands, by the fittest instruments they had. It must either be in the church or from the pope, and the pope is Antichrist.[2] Ho! said Sir John, what

[1] This subject was long and earnestly debated in New England after the coming of the Massachusetts Bay settlers, and like so many of the discussions on doctrine and practice of that time, was conducted in a language to a large extent unintelligible to the modern reader. As an exhibition of refined dialectic the treatment is not without value, but in results it proved barren.

[2] In his third *Dialogue* Bradford has much to say upon the Papacy, and the "young men" exclaim after his exposition of its conduct, "No verily, we beleeue (if we may credite the scriptures) these cannot be Peters successors, but that antichrist, the man of sine, which aduanceth him selfe aboue all that is called God" (p. 9). Antichrist has been applied to almost every imaginable opponent of Christ, *e.g.* witches, but in the middle ages came to be confined to that great personal opponent of Christ and his kingdom expected by the early church to appear before the end of the world. In the fourteenth century the reformers applied it to the Pope or papal power. See p. 6, *supra*.

the pope houlds good, (as in the Trinitie,) that we doe well to assente too; but, said he, we will not enter into dispute now. And as for your letters he would not show them at any hand, least he should spoyle all. He expected you should have been of the Archbishop's [1] minde for the calling of ministers, but it seems you differed. I could have wished to have known the contents of your tow inclosed, at which he stuck so much, espetially the larger. I asked his Worship what good news he had for me to write to morrow. He tould me very good news, for both the kings majestie and the bishops have consented. He said he would goe to Mr. Chancelor, Sir Fulk Grivell,[2] as this day,[3] and nexte weeke I should know more. I mett Sir Edw: Sands on Wedensday night; he wished me to be at the Virginia Courte the nexte Wedensday, wher I purpose to be.[4] Thus loath to be troublsome at present, I hope to have somewhate nexte week of certentie concerning you. I committe you to the Lord. Yours,

Georg: Cantuarien:

S. B.[5]

[1] This would indicate that Abbott had an important share in the "three points," p. 77, *supra.*

[2] Sir Fulke Greville, chancellor and under-treasurer of the Exchequer.

[3] Saturday.

[4] Wednesday, February 11, and 18.

[5] "In Govr. Bradford's *Collection of Letters*, this letter is more at large, and subscribed *Sabine Staresmore.*" PRINCE. This note is to be found written in the Bradford MS. by Prince. Among those who joined with Henry Jacob in laying the foundation of the first Independent or Congregational church in England one Staismore is mentioned (Neal, *History of the Puritans*, I. 462), and is believed to be this Sabine Staresmore. That was in 1616, and some time after 1619 he became a member of John Robinson's church in Leyden, remaining with him till 1622, when he was dismissed to Ainsworth's church in Amsterdam. As Jacob was closely associated with Robinson in organizing a separatist church in Holland, the connection probably accounts for the employment of Staresmore in these negotiations of 1618. Staresmore may have intended to migrate to Virginia with the Blackwell party, had he not been betrayed by them, and suffered imprisonment. Jacob went to that colony in 1622, but returned to England, where he died in 1624.

Staresmore issued, in 1619, a tract entitled *The Vnlawfvlnesse of Reading in Prayer. Or, the Answer of Mr. Richard Mavnsel Preacher vnto certain Argvments or Reasons,*

[24] These things being long in agitation, and messengers passing too and againe aboute them, after all their hopes they were long delayed by many rubs that fell in the way; for at the returne of these messengers into England they found things farr otherwise then they expected. For the Virginia Counsell was now so disturbed with factions and quarrels amongst them selves, as no bussines could well goe forward. The which may the better appear in one of the messengers letters as followeth.

To his loving freinds, etc.

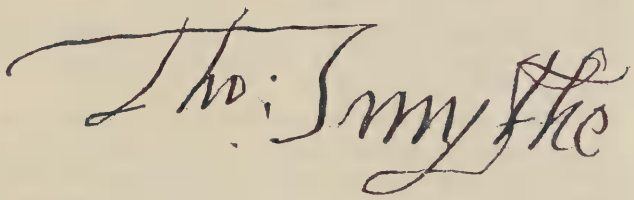
I had thought long since to have write unto you, but could not effecte that which I aimed at, neither can yet sett things as I wished; yet, not withstanding, I doubt not but Mr. B.[1] hath writen to Mr. Robinson. But I thinke my selfe bound also to doe something, least I be thought to neglecte you. The maine hinderance of our proseedings in the Virginia bussines, is the dissentions and factions, as they terme it, amongs the Counsell and Company of Virginia; which are shuch, as that ever since we came up no bussines could by them be dispatched. The occasion of this trouble amongst them is, for that a while since Sir Thomas Smith, repining at his many offices and troubles, wished the Company of Virginia to ease him of his office in being Treasurer and Governour of the Virginia Company. Wereupon the

drawne against the using, or communicating, in, or with the Booke of Common Prayer, etc. In it he recalls an interview with Mr. Maunsel, and adds: "I asked you whether you would undertake a conference with Mr. Robinson, who I conceived was like to come over [to England] about the Virginia voyage, and then you did in plain words refuse it, upon no other ground, then *because he was a Brownist*, as you pleased to terme him." Dexter, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 573, 582. At a later time Staresmore was brought into connection with Roger Williams. For John Cotton writes in his *Reply to Mr. Williams his Examination*, 1: "It sticketh in my mind that I received many yeares agoe, a refutation of it (in a brotherly and ingenuous way) from a stranger to me, but one (as I heare) well affected to him, Mr. *Sabine Staresmore*. To whom I had long agoe returned an Answer, but that he did not direct me where my Letter might find him. But I do not suspect Mr. *Staresmore*, nor Mr. *Williams* himselfe to have published it."

[1] Probably Brewster. See note, p. 89, *infra*.

Company tooke occasion to dismisse him, and chose Sir Edwin Sands Treasurer and Governour of the Company. He having ·60· voyces, Sir John Worstenholme ·16· voices, and Alderman Johnsone ·24· But Sir Thomas Smith, when he saw some parte of his honour lost, was very angrie, and raised a faction to cavill and contend aboute the election, and sought to taxe Sir Edwin with many things that might both disgrace him, and allso put him by his office of Governour. In which contentions they yet stick, and are not fit nor readie to intermedle in any bussines; and what issue things will come tc we are not yet certaine.[1]

[1] For some time the Virginia Company had been disturbed by the growth of a party which was dissatisfied with the management under Sir Thomas Smythe. The failure to derive any profit from the undertaking, the increasing difficulty of obtaining funds for continuing the settlement and the various measures resorted to for interesting the public in its financial betterment, were largely responsible for this factional spirit. To these causes should be added the adverse criticism and even hostility aroused



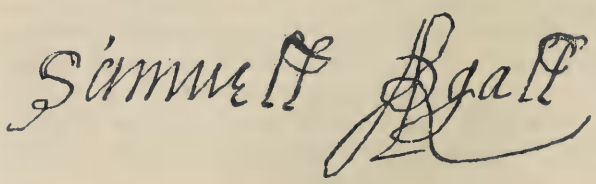
by the acts of the Company's agents in Virginia, and the efforts to secure a monopoly in tobacco of Virginia in the English market, which led to the interference of the King in the concerns of the company and the hostility of merchants in the Spanish tobacco trade. The opposition directed its force against the treasurer of the Company, and proved sufficient to lead him to doubt whether he could continue in office. At this juncture in its affairs the Company received the application from the Leyden people. It was in the meeting held at Sir Thomas Smythe's own house in Philpott Lane, on April 28, 1619, that he desired the Court to proceed to the choice of officers, "signifying that for these Twelue yeares he hath willingly spent his Labours and endeauours for the support thereof: and being now appointed by the Kinge a Commissioner of his Nauie he could not giue such good attendance as he therein desired. Requesting the Court to shewe him so much favour as now to dispence with him and to elect some worthy man in his place, for he had resolued to relinquish it. . . . Which the Court finding his resolucon to be settled, and that he would not stand in elecc̃on; they proceeded according to the Last Standing order now read, to make choice of their Treasuror. Sir Edwin Sandis, Sir Iohn Wolstenholme and Mr. Alderman [Robert] Iohnson being nominated and accordingly ballated, the Lott fell to Sir Edwin Sandis to be Treasurer, he hauing 59 balls, Sir Io. Wolstenholme: 23: and Alderman Iohnson: 18: wherevpon his oath was administered." *Records of the Virginia*

It is most like Sir Edwin will carrie it away, and if he doe, things will goe well in Virginia; if other wise, they will goe ill enough. Always we hope in some · 2 · or · 3 · Courtsdays things will setle. Mean space I thinke to goe downe into Kente, and come up againe aboute · 14 · days, or · 3 · weeks hence; except either by these afforesaid contentions, or by the ille tidings from Virginia, we be wholy discouraged, of which tidings I am now to speake.

Captaine Argoll is come home this weeke (he upon notice of the intente of the Counsell, came away before Sir Georg Yeardley came ther, and so ther is no small dissention).[1] But his tidings are ill, though

Company of London (Kingsbury), I, 212. At the same meeting twenty shares in the Company were voted to Sir Thomas, "in consideracon of the greate trouble mixed often with much sorrowe which Sir Thomas Smith had endured" during his term of office. The faction must have been formed immediately after the election, and made its existence and influence felt, for no Court was held until May 12, four days after the date of Cushman's letter. The treasurer was the most important officer in the Company, not only being responsible for the management of its business interests, and of its funds, but also for maintaining the proper relations between the government and the Company — a political function of great moment. The differences within the Company ended in the interference of the King and the dissolution of the corporation in 1624. While this factional contest prevented the Leyden applicants from obtaining their wish, the King and archbishop having withdrawn their opposition, the choice of Sandys to be Treasurer gave an opportunity for the more progressive element of the Company actively to push their plans, with the result that the Whincop charter was almost immediately granted.

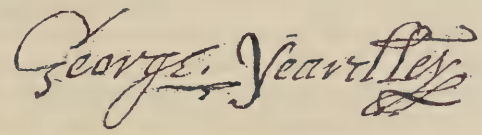
[1] Although Sir Samuel Argall is better known in the history of Virginia, he had some connections with New England. A bold and skillful sailor he made many voyages between England and Virginia; and in 1610, when on his way to the Bermudas for supplies, he was driven by stress of weather to Cape Cod, where he found good fishing, and returned to Virginia. Three years later, in the summer of 1613, he was again fishing in the New England waters, but lost his bearings in the heavy fogs of that season, and drifted to the northern coast, where he learned of the French settlement of Saint Sauveur (Mt. Desert). He made a descent upon it, and killing one of the fathers, carried the other missionaries to Virginia, claiming that the territory was part of Virginia and therefore belonged to the English king. The governor of that



his person be wellcome. He saith Mr. Blackwells shipe came not ther till March, but going towards winter, they had still norwest winds, which carried them to the southward beyond their course. And the master of the ship and some ·6· of the mariners dieing, it seemed they could not find the bay, till after long seeking and beating aboute. Mr. Blackwell is dead, and Mr. Maggner, the Captain; yea, ther are dead, he saith, ·130· persons, one and other in that ship; it is said ther was in all an ·180· persons in the ship, so as they were packed togeather like herings. They had amongst them the fluxe, and allso wante of fresh water; so as it is hear rather wondred at that so many are alive, then that so many are dead. The marchants hear say it was Mr.

colony, Sir Thomas Dale, bade him return to the north, and destroy any French settlements he should find, a commission Argall performed to the satisfaction of Dale. 2 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, 1. 186. On his return, and presumably in November, 1613, Argall touched at the mouth of Hudson's River and discovered there another intruding settlement, that of the Dutch, which he proceeded to lay under tribute. Exactly what happened is not clearly known. The English claimed that the Dutch submitted, and agreed to pay an annual tribute as an acknowledgment of the English title; but on the appointment of a new Resident at Manhattan, the payments stopped, and the Dutch on that island began to build a fort and put themselves in a posture of defense. *New York Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 2 Ser., 1. 334.

Argall carried his prisoners to England, where charges were made against him, to which he made a successful defense. He returned to Virginia in 1617, as deputy governor and admiral of the adjacent seas, and, after about two years' service, avoided meeting his successor, Captain George Yeardley, by boarding in January a pinnace, the *Eleanor*, and sailing for England, where he arrived in April, 1619. In the following year he accompanied the expedition under Sir R. Mansell against Algiers. He made no more voyages to Virginia, and died in 1626.



His visit to Manhattan, casual as it seems to have been, is not without interest in connection with New Plymouth. Bradford and the Pilgrims could hardly have known of it when they sailed from Leyden, nor did they urge it later as the ground of their claim that Manhattan belonged to England. In 1632, Mason did bring it forward, saying, "Sir Samuel Argall, Knight, with many English planters were preparing to goe and sitt downe in his lott of land upon the sayd Manahata river at the same tyme when the Dutch intruded, which caused a Demurre in their proceding." *Mason to Coke*, April 2, 1632. Some sixteen years later, the writer of the *Description of the*

Blackwells faulte to pack so many in the ship; yea, and ther were great mutterings and repinings amongst them, and upbraiding of Mr. Blackwell, for his dealing and dispossing of them, when they saw how he had dispossed of them, and how he insulted over them. Yea, the streets at Gravsend runge of their extreame quarrelings, crying out one of another, Thou hast brought me to this, and, I may thanke the for this. Heavie newes it is, and I would be glad to heare how farr it will discourage.[1] I see none hear discouraged much, [25] but rather desire to larne to beware by other mens harmes, and to amend that wherin they have failed. As we desire to serve one another in love, so take heed of being inthraled by any imperious persone, especially if they be discerned to have an eye to them selves. It doth often trouble me to thinke that in this bussines we are all to learne and none to

Province of New Albion (1646) made much of the Argall visit, but was silent upon his proposed occupation of the island. From what is known of Argall the taking of tribute is not unlikely; but little reliance can be placed upon the rest of the story.

[1] It is strange that this ill-fated voyage has no other record than this letter. Before 1619, the Company, in the hope of invigorating its languishing affairs in Virginia, set aside its monopoly management so far as to permit the formation of societies which would at their private charge set up particular plantations or settlements. Both of the subsequent grants of interest to the Leyden congregation, those made to Whincop and John Peirce, were of this description, as was probably that under which Blackwell sailed. If a private venture, the Company's books would record the grant of permission alone; but an additional reason for the little knowledge of it may be laid to a belief, current at the time, that news unfavorable to the Colony was systematically suppressed. In spite of all precaution, intelligence did leak out through the sailors returning from Virginia; and from notes obtained of the captains of vessels Purchas obtained not a little of his material. He records (*Pilgrimes*, IV. 1774) the last voyage to Virginia of Lord De La Warr in 1618, resulting in his death and that of thirty of his fellow passengers. In view of this, it is the more remarkable that the voyage of Blackwell, involving so heavy a loss of life, should not have attained a like notoriety.

In its instructions to Governor George Yeardley, dated November 18, 1618, the Virginia Company gives warning of grants having been made in general words for particular plantations, which had been abused by taking in persons, like masters of vessels and mariners, "never intended there to inhabit." Such "after and under grants" were declared to be "to all intents and purposes utterly void," and any person removing to Virginia under such an association would be deemed as tenants of the Company. *Va. Hist. Mag.*, II. 161. As Blackwell's ship sailed "towards winter" in 1618, the instructions may have touched upon his adventure.

teach; but better so, then to depend upon shuch teachers as Mr. Blackwell was. Shuch a stratageme he once made for Mr. Johnson and his people at Emden, which was their subversion. But though he ther clenlily (yet unhonestly) plucked his neck out of the collar, yet at last his foote is caught. Hear are no letters come, the ship Captain Argole came in is yet in the west parts; all that we hear is but his reporte; it seemeth he came away secretly. The ship that Mr. Blackwell went in will be hear shortly. It is as Mr. Robinson once said; he thought we should hear no good of them.

Mr. B. is not well at this time;[1] whether he will come back to you

[1] Brewster was at this time wanted by the English government, to answer for printing some controversial works regarded as seditious. These writings, notably David Calderwood's *Perth Assembly*, opposed the King's attempt to overthrow the Kirk of Scotland, and to force Episcopacy upon the unwilling people. Political as well as police reasons ranged the Dutch authorities upon the side of the English government, for it was alleged the printers had violated an express edict (plakkaat) on printing of books, published in December, 1618. As Brewer, the partner of Brewster, and the capitalist of the printing establishment, was a member of the University, he became amenable to its inquiry and discipline.

In July, 1619, Sir Dudley Carleton, the English ambassador at the Hague, reported to Sir Robert Naunton, on one "William Brewster, a Brownist, who hath been for some years an inhabitant and printer at Leyden, but is now within these three weeks removed from thence and gone back to dwell in London." August 1/11 Naunton replied that Brewster had been "frighted back into the Lowe Countries by the Bishopps pursivants." A few days later (August 13) Carleton wrote that Brewster's return to Leyden was reported, but his own search assured him that the information was not true, and that Brewster had removed both his family and his goods from the city. September 7 he sends a report of Brewster's having been seen at Leyden, and after another week's interval he wrote more fully, September 13: "I have used all diligence to enquire after Brewster; and find he keeps most at Amsterdam; but being *incerti laris*, he is not yet to be lighted upon. I understand he prepares to settle himself at a village called Leerdorp, not far from Leyden, thinking there to be able to print prohibited books without discovery, but I shall lay wait for him, both there and in other places, so as I doubt but either he must leave this country; or I shall, sooner or later, find him out." On the 20th he thought he had caught Brewster, but it was Brewster's partner in Leyden, Thomas Brewer, whom the "drunken bailiff" believed to be the man wanted. Brewer was put in the University prison, and Carleton expected to learn much from a voluntary confession against Brewster's publications. The result disappointed him. "It appeared that this Brewer, and Brewster, whom this man set on work, having kept no open shop, nor printed many books fit for public sale

or goe into the north, I yet know not.[1] For my selfe, I hope to see an end of this bussines ere I come, though I am sorie to be thus from you; if things had gone roundly forward, I should have been with you within these ·14· days. I pray God directe us, and give us that spirite which is fitting for shuch a bussines. Thus having summarily pointed at things which Mr. Brewster (I thinke) hath more largly write of to Mr. Robinson, I leave you to the Lords protection.

Yours in all readines, &c.

ROBART CUSHMAN.

London, May 8. An°: 1619.

A word or tow by way of digression touching this Mr. Blackwell; he was an elder of the church at Amsterdam, a man well known of most of them. He declined from the trueth with Mr. Johnson and the rest, and went with him when they parted assunder in that wofull maner, which brought so great dishonour to God, scandall to the trueth, and outward ruine to them selves in this world.[2] But

in these provinces, their practice was to print prohibited books to be vented underhand in his majesty's kingdoms." *Historical Magazine*, IV. 4. Brewer was a "gentleman" and a landed proprietor of Kent. In a posthumous work, written by him, entitled *Gospel Public Worship*, he describes his imprisonment by the Bishops in the King's Bench Prison, above the space of fourteen years (1626–40), for saying: "That because the Prelates did not derive their Offices from His Majesty as they ought: therefore he durst not partake with them, nor the derivers of their offices from them, in the proper works of their offices." In the preface he states of his own life: "Who, in the time of his liberty, was a frequent publisher of them himself at Leyden in Holland; where he walked in communion with Master Robinson and also with Master Ainsworth. Also, after the time of his restraint, procuring liberty of his Keeper; and sometimes in the Prison; he taught them frequently in several Congregations in London." Arber, *Story of the Pilgrim Fathers*, 167, 247. He died in December, 1640. The name of Thomas Brewer appears among the signers of the agreement of the adventurers of November, 1626. The identity has not yet been established.

[1] Brewster was certainly in Leyden on September 19, but was reported to the city authorities as sick. They determined to bring him "into the debtor's chamber, provisionally, where he went voluntarily." It was Brewer, however, who was actually apprehended, as above related. *Historical Magazine*, IV. 5.

[2] After the division in the Amsterdam church, which resulted in the law suit over the property and the recognition of the Ainsworth party as rightful owners, Johnson

Monseigneur, Les caractères de Thomas Drouwer sont bien gardés en la chambre de Messieurs les curateurs & ses livres & papiers bien cachetés en sa propre maison: Touchant l'autre duquel vostre Excellence me parla dernièrement a La Haye, iáy adverti mes amys de se donner garde d'offenser la Majesté de la Grande Bretaigne, a laquelle nous sommes tant obligés, par une compassion imprudente. J'espere qu'ils en feront leur profit au contentement de vostre Excellence. Au demeurant, s'il en quelque autre affaire ie puis faire par de ça quelque service a vostre Excellence, ie vous prie de faire estat de moy comme de vostre

Humble & fidele serviteur
Johan Polyander.

De Leyde ce 22. de Janvier 1620.



LETTER OF POLYANDER ON BREWER'S TYPES

I hope, notwithstanding, through the mercies of the Lord, their souls are now at rest with him in the heavens, and that they are arrived in the Haven of hapines; though some of their bodies were thus buried in the terrable seas, and others sunke under the burthen of bitter afflictions. He with some others had prepared for to goe to Virginia. And he, with sundrie godly citizens, being at a private meeting (I take it a fast) in London, being discovered, many of them were apprehended, wherof Mr. Blakwell was one; but he so glossed with the b[isho]ps, and either dissembled or flatly deneyed the trueth which formerly he had maintained; and not only so, but very unworthily betrayed and accused another godly [1] man who had escaped, that so he might slip his own neck out of the collar, and to obtaine his owne freedome brought others into bonds. Wherupon he so wone the b[isho]ps favour (but lost the Lord's) as he was not only dismiste, but in oppen courte the Archbishop gave him great applause and his sollemne blessing to proseed in his vioage. But if shuch events follow the b[isho]ps blessing, happie are they that misse the same; it is much better to keepe a good conscience and have the Lords blessing, whether in life or death.

But see how the man thus apprehended by Mr. Blackwells means, writes to a freind of his.

and his followers (Blackwell being one) removed to Emden, in East Friesland, a place about one hundred and fifty miles northeast of Amsterdam, near the mouth of the Ems, and of high repute as a place of refuge for the persecuted English in the reign of Queen Mary. This removal took place about 1612, and some time after that year Blackwell's scheme was framed. Of his intention and the purposes of the Emden congregation no record exists save these references by Bradford and Cushman, but it involved a transportation across the ocean. Johnson, Bradford states (*Dialogue*), died January 10, 1617–18, at Amsterdam, after his return from Emdem, and not many years after the division in the church. In the year before his death Johnson described himself as "pastour of the auncient English church now sojourning at Amsterdam," and "pastour of the English exiled church sojourning (for the present) at Amsterdam." The first description applies to his former pastorate, and the second may refer to a temporary passage through Amsterdam to another place — possibly the Blackwell project towards America. He died before the company embarked. On Francis Blackwell, see Hanbury, *Historical Memorials*, I. 148.

[1] That is, Sabine Staresmore.

RIGHT DEAR FREIND AND CHRISTIAN BROTHER, *Mr. Carver*, I salute you and yours in the Lord, etc. As for my owne presente condition, I doubt not but you well understand it ere this by our brother Maistersone,[1] who should have tasted of the same cupp, had his place of residence and his person been as well knowne as my selfe. Some what I have written to *Mr. Cushman* how the matter *still continues*. I have petitioned *twise* to Mr. Sherives,[2] and *once* to my Lord Cooke,[3] and have used such reasons to move them to pittie, that if they were not overruled by some others, I suppose I should soone gaine my libertie; as that I was a yonge man living by my [26] credite, indebted to diverse in our citie, living at more then ordinarie charges in a close and tedious prison; besides great rents abroad, all my bussines lying still, my only servante lying lame in the countrie, my wife being also great with child. And yet no answer till the lords of his majesties Counsell gave consente. Howbeit, Mr. Blackwell, a man as deepe in this action as I, was delivered at a cheaper rate, with a great deale less adoe; yea, with an addition of the Arch[bishop] blessing. I am sorie for Mr. Blackwels weaknes, I wish it may prove no worse. But yet he and some others of them, *before their going*, were not sorie, but thought it was for the best that I was nominated, not because the Lord sanctifies evill to good, but that the action was good, yea for the best. One reason I well remember he used was, because this trouble would encrease

[1] Richard Masterson came from Sandwich, and followed wool carding. In 1614 he purchased a house on Uiterstegracht, Leyden, from his fellow churchman, Roger Wilson, for eight hundred guilders. A deacon of the Leyden church he was chosen to that office, Savage conjectures, after the sailing of the *Mayflower*. On November 26, 1619, he married in Leyden Mary Goodale, of Leiston, Suffolk, and with her came to New Plymouth in 1630. After his death in the sickness of 1633, his widow married, as Savage supposes in 1634, Ralph Smith, and she held in 1649 her right in a house in Leyden, which had belonged to Masterson.

[2] The Sheriff.

[3] Removed by royal orders from his position of Chief Justice of the King's Bench in June, 1616, Sir Edward Coke was in September of the following year recalled to the Council. Later he sat in the Star Chamber, and was a member of several commissions of inquiry concerning the laws against seminary priests and disputes among the incorporated companies. It was possibly in this latter capacity that he was appealed to by Staresmore.

the Virginia plantation, in that now people begane to be more generally inclined to goe; and if he had not nomminated some shuch as I, he had not bene free, being it was knowne that diverse citizens besides them selves were ther. I expecte an answer shortly what they intend conscerning me; I purpose to write to some others of you, by whom you shall know the certaintie. Thus not haveing further at present to aquaint you withall, commending my selfe to your prairs, I cease, and committe you and us all to the Lord.

From my chamber in Wodstreete Compter.[1]

Your freind, and brother in bonds,

SABIN STARESMORE.

Sept[r]: 4. Anno: 1618.

But thus much by the way, which may be of instruction and good use.

But at last, after all these things, and their long attendance, they had a patent granted them, and confirmed under the Companies seale; but these devissions and distractions had shaken of many of ther pretended freinds, and disappointed them of much of their hoped for and proffered means. By the advise of some freinds this pattente was not taken in the name of any of their owne, but in the name of Mr. John Wincob (a religious gentleman then belonging to the Countess of Lincoline), who intended to goe with them.[2] But

[1] One of two prisons in London, which took the place of the Bread Street Compter in 1555, and was itself superseded in 1791 by the Giltspur Street Compter. A curious account of the reason for making the change will be found in Stow, *Survey of London* (Kingsford), 1. 350. The other compter in the sixteenth century was the Poultry Compter, taken down in 1817.

[2] "One Mr. Weyncop commended to the Company by the Earle of Lincolne intending to goe in person to Virginia, and there to plant himselfe and his Associats presented his Pattent now [May 26, 1619] to the Court." It was considered in committee and was ordered to be sealed June 9, 1619. *Records of the Virginia Company*, 1. 221, 228. The name is Whincop or Wincop. Neill conjectures that he was one of three brothers, clergymen, and that John served as tutor to the Earl of Lincoln. *Virginia Company of London*, 128 *n*. One "John Wyncopp of Kirkby Vnderwood" refused in March, 1626–27, to lend to the King "in the tyme of his necessytie," or to enter into bond for his appearance at the Council Board to answer for his refusal. *N. E. Hist. Gen.*

God so disposed as he never went, nor they ever made use of this patente, which had cost them so much labour and charge, as by the sequell will appeare. This patente being sente over for them to veiw and consider,[1] as also the passages aboute the propossitions

Reg., XXXVI. 140. Lincolnshire was a center of opposition to the royal methods of extorting loans under measures believed to be illegal.

Thomas, third Earl of Lincoln, succeeded his father in the title in 1616. He married Elizabeth Knevitt, of Charlton, Wiltshire, and died January 15, 1618–19. His third but eldest surviving son, Theophilus, became the fourth Earl of Lincoln, and his wife was Bridget, daughter of William Fiennes, Viscount Say and Sele, whose connection with the settlement on the Connecticut River is well known. Whincop probably served under the third Earl.

[1] "That a Patent, as is aforesaid, was obtained, is published in print, and affirmed by such as yet survive of the first planters; but where it is, or how it came to be lost, is not known to any that belong to the said Colony." Hubbard, *History*, 50. A patent did issue, but no reference to it appears after it was sent to Holland for the consideration of the intending emigrants. Its terms and bounds have been a subject of conjecture, and it is supposed to have embraced a tract of territory near the mouth of the Hudson River. This supposition rests upon Bradford's statement on p. 152, that after deliberation among themselves and the master of the *Mayflower* they resolved to stand for the southward, "to finde some place aboute Hudsons river for their habitation," and upon the charge that this master, Jones, at the instigation of the Dutch threw obstacles in the way of a settlement on or near the Hudson. The simpler explanation of the desire to go to the Hudson lies in the fact that the grant of King James, of 1606, creating the Virginia companies, while including all the continent from the thirty-fourth to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude, divided the territory into a southern (Virginia) and a northern (New England) colony, and assigned the divisions to different colonizing agencies. The line of division was the forty-first parallel. The London merchants received Virginia, and those of Plymouth and the west of England, New England. The Whincop Patent was issued by the Virginia Company, and the Pilgrims sailed from England some weeks before the Council for the affairs of New England received a new patent, which expressly recognized the fortieth parallel as its southern boundary, and, in all probability, took what had come to be accepted as the line dividing the Northern from the Southern company's sphere of influence. A patent from the Virginia Company, issued to London merchants, would apply to any specified territory south of the fortieth degree, and that would mean at the mouth or anywhere south of Hudson's River. Bradford recognizes the distinction on p. 189.

. Captain John Smith, in his letter of 1618 to Sir Francis Bacon, speaks of the "desyre of gaine in marchants so violent; everyone so regarding his private, that it is worse

between them and shuch marchants and freinds as should either goe or adventure with them, and espetially with those[1] on whom they did cheefly depend for shipping and means, whose proffers had been large, they were requested to fitt and prepare them selves with all speed. A right emblime, it may be, of the uncertine things of this world; that when men have toyld them selves for them, they vanish into smoke.

than slaverye to follow any publique good, and impossible to bring them into a bodye, rule or order, unles it be by some extraordinary power." *Historical Magazine*, v. 195.

[1] Mr. Tho: Weston, etc. — BRADFORD. Weston was a citizen and ironmonger of London. "He seems to have been a man of a type not uncommon in the days of Elizabeth and James I, — English adventurers, half traders and half explorers, who probably required the inducement only to ripen into something closely resembling a freebooter. His head was full of schemes for deriving great and sudden gain from the settlement of the North American coast, in regard to the possibilities of which he shared to the full all the sanguine faith of Raleigh, Gorges and Smith. . . . In all probability he had been concerned in fishing and trading ventures to the Banks of Newfoundland and neighboring coasts. He may have prospered in them. At all events, in 1620 he was possessed of some means, and was eager to try his fortune in those parts in a more systematic way, and, for that time, on a considerable scale." Adams, *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History*, 46. The merchants may have been the Merchant Adventurers, of which body Weston was treasurer and an active, if not a ruling spirit. These merchant companies, supported by the monopoly and special exemptions given to them by law and royal grants, and exercising large political functions, were regarded as favorable instruments for extending the trade of the kingdom, though they did quarrel with other like mercantile companies over rights and the intrusion of others. The charter of the Merchant Adventurers' Company was abolished by proclamation of December 2, 1614, but the objects intended by that measure were not attained, and the old company was re-established in 1617. As the cloth industry and commerce formed one of its more important activities, its relations with Holland were close, and thus Weston may have learned of the purpose of the Leyden congregation. At the same time a number of merchants uniting for a special undertaking took the title of "Merchant Adventurers," and Weston may have had a connection with such a body.

The ·6· Chap[ter]

Conscerning the agreements and artickles between them, and shuch marchants and others as adventured moneys; with other things falling out aboute making their provissions.

UPON the receite of these things by one of their messengers, they had a sollemne meeting and a day of humilliation to seeke the Lord for his direction; and their pastor tooke this texte, ·1· *Sam.* 23. 3, 4. *And David's men said unto him, see, we be afraid hear in Judah, how much more if we come to Keilah against the host of the Philistimes? Then David asked counsell of the Lord againe, etc.*[1] From which texte he taught many things very aptly, and befitting ther presente occasion and condition, strengthing them against their fears and perplexities, and incouraging them in their resolutions.[2] [27]

[1] "And the Lord answered him, and said, Arise, goe downe to Keilah: for I will deliver the Philistims into thine hand." *Genevan version.*

[2] "Our Agents returning; we further sought the Lord by a publique and solemn Fast, for his gracious guidance. And here upon we came to this resolution, that it was best for one part of the Church to goe at first, and the other to stay, *viz.* the youngest and strongest part to goe. Secondly, they that went should freely offer themselves. Thirdly, if the major part went, the Pastor to goe with them; if not, the Elder onely. Fourthly, if the Lord should frowne upon our proceedings, then those that went to returne, and the Brethren that remained still there, to assist and bee helpfull to them, but if God should bee pleased to favour them that went, then they also should endeavour to help over such as were poore and ancient, and willing to come; these things being agreed, the major part stayed, and the Pastor with them for the present, but all intended (except a very few, who had rather wee would have stayed) to follow after. The minor part, with Mr. *Brewster* their Elder, resolved to enter upon this great work (but take notice the difference in number was not great;)" Winslow, *Hypocrisie Unmasked*, *90. From this an estimate of the membership of the Leyden church may be made. Originally comprising about one hundred members, it had increased in the

After which they concluded both what number and what persons should prepare them selves to goe with the first; for all that were willing to have gone could not gett ready for their other affairs in so shorte a time; neither if all could have been ready, had ther been means to have transported them alltogeather. Those that staied being the greater number required the pastor to stay with them; and indeede for other reasons he could not then well goe, and so it was the more easilie yeelded unto. The other then desired the elder, Mr. Brewster, to goe with them, which was also condescended unto.[1] It was also agreed on by mutuall consente and covenante, that those that went should be an absolute church of them selves, as well as those that staid; seing in shuch a dangerus vioage, and a removall to shuch a distance, it might come to pass they should (for the body of them) never meete againe in this world; yet with this proviso, that as any of the rest came over to them, or of the other returned upon occasion, they should be reputed as members without any further dismission or testimoniall. It was allso promised to those that wente first, by the body of the rest, that if the Lord gave them life, and means, and opportunitie, they would come to them as soone as they could.[2]

Aboute this time, whilst they were perplexed with the prosseed-

twelve years by accessions from England, and in 1620 numbered about three hundred, of which less than half went to New England. Those who remained in Holland were so thoroughly absorbed in the Dutch population that in 1859 not more than three names of families in Leyden could be traced bearing any resemblance to those known to have been of the Robinson church. Henry C. Murphy, in *Historical Magazine*, III. 359. See p. 44, *supra*.

[1] Brewster was at this time a fugitive from seizure in Holland as well as in England. Not being enrolled a member of the University, he could not expect the same protection from its privileges as his partner Brewer enjoyed.

[2] While this arrangement enabled members to pass from one church to the other without the usual forms attending dismissal and acceptance, it undoubtedly hindered the church in New Plymouth from obtaining a pastor of its own, as the hope ever existed of Robinson's coming to take the office. Brewster practically exercised all the functions of a pastor, except administration of the Sacraments, for ten years after the settlement, and at intervals later, when the office was vacant.

dings of the Virginia Company, and the ill news from thence aboute Mr. Blackwell and his company, and making inquirey about the hiring and buying of shiping for their vioage, some Dutchmen made them faire offers aboute goeing with them.[1] Also one Mr. Thomas Weston, a marchant of London, came to Leyden aboute the same time, (who was well aquainted with some of them, and a furtherer of them in their former proseedings,)[2] haveing much conferance with Mr. Robinson and other of the cheefe of them, perswaded them to goe on (as it seems) and not to medle with the Dutch, or too much to depend on the Virginia Company; [3] for if that failed, if

[1] Unfortunately Winslow omitted "for brevity's sake many circumstances, as the large offers the Dutch offered us, either to have removed into *Zealand* [*i.e.* Middelburg], and there lived with them: or if we would go on such adventures, to goe under them to *Hudsons* River (where they have since a great plantation, &c.) and how they would freely have transported us, and furnished every family with cattle, &c." *Hypocrisie Unmasked*, *91.

[2] Deane, in a note at this point, regrets that Bradford was not more particular in giving dates to the various occurrences narrated on the last few pages of the *History*. He infers that "Weston's visit to Leyden at this time was before the patent from the Virginia Company was granted; but Carver and Cushman were not sent into England to make the final arrangements for the voyage until after the patent was 'sent over for them to view and consider.' "

[3] On 2/12 February, 1619–20, the Directors of the New Netherland Company petitioned the Prince of Orange to anticipate a settlement of New Netherland by the English, by sending out two ships of war and giving protection to some English who might migrate to that part of the world. "Now it happens, that there is residing at Leyden a certain English Preacher, versed in the Dutch language, who is well inclined to proceed thither to live, assuring the petitioners that he has the means of inducing over four hundred families to accompany him thither, both out of this country and England, provided they would be guarded and preserved from all violence on the part of other potentates, by the authority and under the protection of your Princely Excellency and the High and Mighty Lords States General, in the propagation of the true, pure Christian religion, in the instruction of the Indians in that country in true learning, and in converting them to the Christian Faith, and thus through the mercy of the Lord, to the greater glory of this country's government, to plant there a new Commonwealth, all under the order and command of your Princely Excellency and the High and Mighty Lords States General." *Col. Hist. of New York*, I. 22. The petition was "again rejected" April 1/11, 1620. Writing from the Hague nearly two years later, Sir Dudley Carleton stated that he could not "learn of any Colony; either

they came to resolution, he and shuch marchants as were his freinds (togeather with their owne means) would sett them forth; and they should make ready, and neither feare wante of shipping nor money; for what they wanted should be provided. And, not so much for him selfe as for the satisfing of shuch fre[inds] as he should procure to adventure in this bussines, they were to draw shuch articles of agreemente, and make such propossitions, as might the better induce his freinds to venture. Upon which (after the formere conclusion) articles were drawne and agreed unto, and were showne unto him, and approved by him; and afterwards by their [1] messenger (Mr. John Carver) sent into England, who, togeather with Robart Cushman, were to receive the moneys and make provissione both for shiping and other things for the vioage; with this charge, not to exseede their commission, but to proceed according to the former articles. Also some were chossen to doe the like for shuch things as were to be prepared there; so those that were to goe, prepared them selves with all speed, and sould of their estates and (shuch as were able) put in their moneys into the commone stock, which was disposed by those appointed, for the making of generall provissions. Aboute this time also they had heard, both by Mr. Weston and others, that sundrie Hon[oura]ble Lords had obtained a large grante from the king, for the more northerly parts of that countrie,

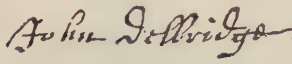
already planted there [New Netherland] by these people [the Dutch], or so much as intended. And I have this further reason to believe there is none — because, within these few months, divers inhabitants of this country, to a considerable number of families, have been suitors unto me to procure them a place of habitation amongst His Majesty's subjects of those parts: which by His Majesty's order, was made known to the Directors of the Plantation; and if these country men were in any such way themselves, there is small appearance they would desire to mingle with strangers, and be subject to their Government." Thereupon he served notice on the States-General not only to make stay of such ships as were preparing to go to New Netherland, but to prohibit any further prosecution of that plantation. *To the Privy Council*, February 5/15, 1621–22. No minute of such an application is to be found in the records of either company of Virginia.

[1] The word "aid" or "old" was written and struck out.

derived out of the Virginia patente, and wholy secluded from their Govermente, and to be called by another name, viz. New-England.[1]

[1] By a change in the constitution of the government in the Virginia Company, tending to a monopoly confined to members of that body, the Second Colony, or Plymouth Company, found itself left "as desparate and our business as abandoned." The ambitions of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, fed by the narratives of returning captains, guided the project, and he planned a separate northern plantation, to extend from the fortieth to the forty-eighth degrees of north latitude, and from sea to sea. Interesting some of the Privy Council in the scheme, as patentees and counsellors, he petitioned, March 3, 1619–20, the King for recognition and enlargement of their patent. As they sought to create a monopoly in fishing and trade for their territory, opposition was raised, sufficiently powerful to delay the grant and institute an inquiry. First the Council of the Virginia Company must be satisfied, and the Lords of the Privy Council granted two hearings, and issued an order that gave satisfaction to neither corporation. The opposition in interest is well shown by the following incident:

"Mr. John Delbridge purposinge to settle a particuler Colony in Virginia desyringe of the Company that for the defrayinge some part of his charges, that hee might bee admitted to fish att Cape Codd. Which request was opposed by Sir Ferdinando Gorge aleaginge thatt hee alwaies favoured Mr. Delbridge butt in this hee thought himselfe something touched that hee should sue to this Company, and not rather to him as properlie belonginge to the Northern Collony to give liberty for the fishinge in that place, itt lyinge within their latitude, which was answered by Mr. Treasurer, that the Companies of the South and North Plantac̃ons are the one free of the other, and that the letters Pattents is cleer that each may fish within the other, the sea being free for both. Which if the North Colony abridge them of this, they would take away their means and encouragement of sending men. Vnto which Sir Ferdinando Gorges replyed that if hee mistake not himselfe both the companies were lymitted by the Pattent vnto which he would submitt himselfe." *Records of the Virginia Company* (Kingsbury), I, 277. The question was met by licensing the "Society of Smiths hundred" (Delbridge's colony?) to fish in the northern colony (*Ib.* 285), but this could be only a temporary solution.



In the mean time the London, or southern company, issued (February 2, 1619–20) a patent to John Peirce and his associates. Gorges, with a touch of flattery which he often used, intended to call his new plantation, New England, "as by the Prince his Highnes [Charles] it hath bin named." *Col. Hist. of New York*, III. 2, 3. On July 23, 1620, Sir Thomas Coventry, the solicitor general, received an instruction to prepare such a patent of incorporation, similar to that issued to the Virginia Company, changes being made in certain allowances of customs, subsidy and imposition. Gorges asserts that the favor of those he had interested in the venture gave him "the easier passage" to obtain the charter, which passed the seals November 3, 1620.

Unto which Mr. Weston, and the cheefe of them, begane to incline it was [28] best for them to goe, as for other reasons, so cheefly for

The company thus incorporated was known as "The Council established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New England in America." The patent is in Hazard, I. 103. In its terms advantage appears to have been taken entirely to exclude the southern company from the fisheries off the coasts of New England, except by license obtained of the Gorges Company. The attempt to create a monopoly of the sea, which should be "as free and common as the air," by imposing conditions "contrary and manifestly repugnant to that community and freedom" granted to either company by the first patent, was properly ascribed to Sir Ferdinando. The King intervened and Gorges agreed to deposit the new patent, as undelivered, into the hands of the Lord Chancellor, pending a decision of the question, and while the dispute was still open, each company should proceed to act under the old grants. The Privy Council gave deliberate hearings and large debate to both parties, and though the result was distinctly favorable to the New England Company, much time was lost, and adventure in the company greatly discouraged, "so as all men were afraid to join with us, and we there by left hopeless of any thing more." Gorges, *Briefe Relation*, *18. It was probably by an afterthought, and in the light of a somewhat bitter experience, that Sir Ferdinando claimed that it was scandalous to charge the Council of Plymouth with having desired to make a monopoly of the coast lands, and instanced its willingness to further the grant to Sir William Alexander, adding, "we wish that many would undertake the like." *Ib.* *10, 34.



SEAL OF THE NORTHERN (NEW ENGLAND) COMPANY

The experience of Gorges in his attempted monopoly in the New England fisheries was an almost exact repetition of that of De Monts in France. Pierre du Guast, Sieur de Monts, secured from the King vice-regal powers over Acadia and a monopoly of the fur trade. Although he came to America he met with little success, was interfered with in the trade by French and Dutch interlopers, and his enemies at court, acting for the Norman, Breton, and Biscayan fishermen, who complained of the monopoly, succeeded in having it rescinded. De Monts returned to France in 1607, the year in which Popham's ships sailed from Plymouth for the new world.

the hope of present profite to be made by the fishing that was found in that countrie.

But as in all bussineses the acting parte is most difficulte, espetially wher the worke of many agents must concurr, so was it found in this; for some of those that should have gone in England, fell of and would not goe; other marchants and friends that had offered to adventure their moneys withdrew, and pretended many excuses. Some disliking they wente not to Guiana; others againe would adventure nothing excepte they wente to Virginia. Some againe (and those that were most relied on) fell in utter dislike with Virginia, and would doe nothing if they wente thither. In the midds of these distractions, they of Leyden, who had put of their estates, and laid out their moneys, were brought into a greate streight, fearing what issue these things would come too; but at length the generalitie was swaid to this latter opinion.

Weston and his associates would naturally judge of the adventure from its profit, and so "chiefly" for the possible gains from fishing, then a trade that in proper hands yielded a good return, and would be improved could the French and Dutch fishermen be excluded from the English markets. Monopoly was the breath of Weston's plans, and in the end placed the Pilgrims in direct opposition to his views.

In the session of 1621 a bill making free the fisheries on the coast of America passed the House after some debates, but failed to become a law, as objection was made that it infringed the King's prerogative. An effort was made in the same session to suppress the exaction of tithes, "Christ's dole" on fishing voyages to Newfoundland and other places beyond the seas. Originally recognized and paid in kind in the domestic fisheries, the different conditions attending the distant fisheries did not lend themselves so readily to their enforcement. A measure relieving the American fisheries from tithes passed the House, but also failed to become a law.

In a debate in the House of Commons on April 25, 1620, upon the New England fisheries, Sir Edwin Sandys represented them as far better than those of Newfoundland, but as little likely to bring in any benefit to the realm if the Plymouth Council monopoly be upheld. The French and the Dutch would reap the profit, and a valuable trade to Spain in fish, paid for in silver, and employing much shipping, would be imperiled. It was charged that London merchants, by restraining trade, undid all trade, and engrossed all trades and places; but the patentees for this northern plantation also intended their private good, which hurt the commonwealth. Under a pretense of reforming abuses, they set fines. Chalmers, *Political Annals*, 84, 85.

But now another difficultie arose, for Mr. Weston and some other that were for this course, either for their better advantage, or rather for the drawing on of others, as they pretended, would have some of those conditions altered that were first agreed on at Leyden. To which the ·2· agents sent from Leyden (or at least one of them who is most charged with it) did consente; seeing els that all was like to be dashte, and the opportunitie lost, and that they which had put of their estates and paid in their moneys were in hazard to be undon. They presumed to conclude with the marchants on those termes, in some things contrary to their order and commission, and without giving them notice of the same; yea, it was conceled, least it should make any furder delay; which was the cause afterward of much trouble and contention.

It will be meete I here inserte these conditions,[1] which are as foloweth.

Anno, 1620. July 1.[2]

1. The adventurers[3] and planters doe agree, that every person that

[1] These conditions were in accord with the conditions of the London Company. Osgood, *American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century*, 1. 108.

[2] "The date here given, July 1st, does not indicate the time when these 'conditions' were first drawn up at Leyden, nor the time when the alterations complained of were agreed upon at London, as will appear by the letters which follow. The articles were doubtless re-written at London, and made ready to receive the signatures of the parties to the agreement." DEANE.

[3] Of the "Adventurers" who were interested in the New Plymouth undertaking, Captain John Smith wrote in 1624–25: "The Aduenturers which raised the stocke to begin and supply this Plantation were about 70. some Gentlemen, some Merchants, some handy-crafts men, some aduenturing great summes, some small, as their estates and affection serued. The generall stocke already imploied is about 7000 *l.* by reason of which charge and many crosses, many of them would aduenture no more, but others that knowes, so great a designe cannot bee effected without both charge, losse and crosses, are resolued to goe forward with it to their powers; which deserue no small commendations and encouragement. These dwell most about London, they are not a corporation, but knit together by a voluntary combination in a society without constraint or penalty, aiming to doe good and to plant Religion; they have a President and Treasurer, euery yeere newly chosen by the most voices, who ordereth the

goeth being aged ·16· years and upward, be rated at ·10*li*· and ten pounds to be accounted a single share.

2. That he that goeth in person, and furnisheth him selfe out with ·10*li*· either in money or other provissions, be accounted as haveing ·20*li*· in stock, and in the devission shall receive a doble share.

3. The persons transported and the adventurers shall continue their joynt stock and partnership togeather, the space of ·7· years, (excepte some unexpected impedimente doe cause the whole company to agree otherwise,) during which time, all profits and benifits that are gotte by trade, traffick, trucking, working, fishing, or any other means of any person or persons, remaine still in the commone stock untill the division.

4. That at their comming ther, they chose out shuch a number of fitt persons, as may furnish their ships and boats for fishing upon the sea; imploying the rest in their severall faculties upon the land; as building houses, tilling, and planting the ground, and makeing shuch commodities as shall be most usefull for the collonie.

5. That at the end of the ·7· years, the capitall and profits, viz. the houses, lands, goods and chatles, be equally devided betwixte the adventurers, and planters; which done, every man shall be free from other of them of any debt or detrimente concerning this adventure. [29]

6. Whosoever cometh to the colonie herafter, or putteth any into the stock, shall at the ende of the ·7· years be alowed proportionably to the time of his so doing.

7. He that shall carie his wife and children, or servants, shall be alowed for everie person now aged ·16· years and upward, a single share in the devision, or if he provid them necessaries, a duble share, or if they be between ·10· year old and ·16· then ·2· of them to be reconed for a person, both in transportation and devision.

8. That shuch children as now goe, and are under the age of ten years, have noe other shar in the devission, but ·50· acers of unmanured land.

affaires of their Courts and meetings. and with the assent of the most of them, vndertaketh all ordinary businesses, but in more weighty affaires, the assent of the whole Company is required." *Generall Historie* (1626), 247. The names of such of the Adventurers who took part in the agreement of 1626 are given in vol. II. p. 6, *infra*.

9. That shuch persons as die before the ·7· years be expired, their executors to have their parte or share at the devission, proportionably to the time of their life in the collonie.

10. That all such persons as are of this collonie, are to have their meate, drink, apparell, and all provissions out of the common stock and goods of the said collonie.

The cheefe and principall differences betwene these and the former conditions, stood in those ·2· points; that the houses, and lands improved, espetialy gardens and home lotts should remaine undevided wholy to the planters at the ·7· years end. 2ly, that they should have had ·2· days in a weeke for their owne private imploymente, for the more comforte of them selves and their families, espetialy shuch as had families.[1] But because letters are by some wise men counted the best parte of histories, I shall shew their greevances hereaboute by their owne letters, in which the passages of things will be more truly discerned.

A letter of Mr. Robinsons to John Carver.

June 14. 1620. N. stile.[2]

My dear freind and brother, whom with yours I alwaise remember in my best affection, and whose wellfare I shall never cease to

[1] In Virginia, in 1616, the servants of the company worked in the common garden for eleven months in the year, having only one month for their own. In the plantation of Bermuda Hundred a group of servants enjoyed a special privilege of one day in each week from the first of May until harvest for their own use, in addition to the one month a year. To every man with a family was assured a house of four rooms, for which no rent would be paid for at least a year; and with each house went twelve acres of land for cultivation, with tools, live stock and provisions for a twelvemonth, after which period the settler should be self-supporting. The idea was to develop a tenant class who should prove a source of profit to the company, and should provide a means of carrying on the plantation now that the period of joint management of the land was coming to an end. It was an intermediate stage towards granting land in fee simple. Osgood, *American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century*, 1. 76.

[2] "Prince has the following note here as to the date of this letter: 'June 14, N. S. is June 4, O. S., which is Lord's day, and therefore here is doubtless a mistake. It seems more likely to have been June 24, N. S., which is June 14, O. S., especially since this

commend to God by my best and most earnest praires. You doe throwly understand by our generall letters the estate of things hear, which indeed is very pitifull; espetialy by wante of shiping, and not seeing means lickly, much less certaine, of having it provided; though withall ther be great want of money and means to doe needfull things. Mr. Pickering,[1] you know before this, will not defray a peny hear; though Robart Cushman presumed of I know not how many ·100*li*· from him, and I know not whom. Yet it seems strange that we should be put to him to receive both his and his partners adventer, and yet Mr. Weston write unto him, that in regard of it, he hath drawne upon him a ·100*li*· more. But ther is in this some misterie, as indeed it seems ther is in the whole course. Besides, wheras diverse are to pay in some parts of their moneys yet behinde, they refuse to doe it, till they see shiping provided, or a course taken for it. Neither doe I thinke is ther a man hear would pay any thing, if he had againe his money in his purse. You know right well we depended on Mr. Weston alone, and upon shuch means as he would procure for this commone bussines; and when we had in hand another course with the Dutchmen, broke it of at his motion, and upon the conditions by him shortly after propounded. He did this in his love I know, but things appeare not answerable from him hitherto. That he should have first have put in his moneys, is thought by many to have been but fitt, but that I can well excuse, he being a marchante and haveing use of it to his benefite; wheras others, if it had been in their hands, would have consumed it. [30] But that he should not but have had either shipping ready before this time, or at least certaine means, and course, and the same knowne

letter is plainly dated June 24, both at the beginning and end in Governor Bradford's *Collection of Letters*, and also observing here that the figure 1, in 14, seems to have been altered on the paper.' But what we may suppose to be a later note by him is found in his *Annals*, 1. 68, where he makes a brief extract from this letter. 'The date in the *Manuscript* is *June* 14, N. S. But the figure 1, being somewhat blurred, and *June* 14, N. S. being Lord's day, and this letter placed before the following of June 10, N. S., I conclude it should be June 4 N. S.'; which corresponds to May 25, O. S." DEANE.

[1] Edward Pickering, a merchant of London, and afterwards a member of the Leyden congregation, did not emigrate to New England, and either died or withdrew from the adventurers before the agreement of November, 1626. The name of his wife was Mary Stubbs, and the date of marriage, December 15, 1612.

to us for it, or have taken other order otherwise, cannot in my conscience be excused. I have heard that when he hath been moved in the bussines, he hath put it of from him selfe, and referred it to yowthers [the others]; and would come to Georg Morton,[1] and enquire news of him aboute things, as if he had scarce been some accessarie unto it. Wether he hath failed of some helps from others which he expected, and so be not well able to goe through with things, or whether he hath feared least you should be ready too soone and so encrease the charge of shiping above that is meete, or whether he have thought by withhoulding to put us upon straits, thinking that therby Mr. Brewer[2] and Mr. Pickering would be drawne by importunitie to doe more, or what other misterie is in it, we know not; but sure we are that things are not answerable to shuch an occasion. Mr. Weston makes himselfe mery with our endeavors about buying a ship, but we have done nothing in this but with good reason, as I am perswaded, nor yet that I know in any thing els, save in those tow; the one, that we imployed Robart Cushman, who is known (though a good man, and of spetiall abilities in his kind, yet) most unfitte to deale for other men, by reason of his singularitie, and too great indifferancie for any conditions, and for (to speak truly) that[3] we have had nothing from him but termes and presumptions. The other, that we have so much relyed, by im-

[1] George Morton, described as of York, England, and a merchant. Dexter conjectures that he was born at Harworth, Notts. He married, July 23, 1612, Juliana, daughter of Alexander Carpenter. Himself betrothed in July, 1612, he witnessed the betrothal of Edward Pickering in the following November. With his four children and his brother, Thomas, he came over in the *Anne* in 1623, and died in June, 1624. His widow married Manasseh Kempton. A son, Nathaniel, eleven years old at the migration, was Secretary of the Colony and compiler of *New Englands Memoriall*, which is largely based upon Bradford's MS. Of George Morton, Hubbard says: he "continued but awhile, yet was found always an unfeigned wellwiller, and, according to his sphere and condition, a faithful promoter of the public good, laboring always to still and silence the murmurings and complaints of some discontented spirits, by occasion of the difficulties of these new beginnings. But he fell asleep in the Lord within a year after his first arrival, in June 1624, when it pleased the Lord to put a period to the days of his pilgrimage here." *History*, 83. See introduction to Mourt's *Relation* (Dexter's edition).

[2] Thomas Brewer. See p. 89, *supra*.

[3] This word is written in the margin, and may have been inserted by Prince.

plicite faith as it were, upon generalities, without seeing the perticuler course and means for so waghtie an affaire set down unto us. For shiping, Mr. Weston, it should seeme, is set upon hireing, which yet I wish he may presently effecte; but I see litle hope of help from hence if so it be. Of Mr. Brewer you know what to expecte. I doe not thinke Mr. Pickering will ingage, excepte in the course of buying, in former letters specified. Aboute the conditions, you have our reasons for our judgments of what is agreed. And let this spetially be borne in minde, that the greatest parte of the Collonie is like to be imployed constantly, not upon dressing ther perticuler land and building houses, but upon fishing, trading, etc. So as the land and house will be but a trifell for advantage to the adventurers, and yet the devission of it a great discouragemente to the planters, who would with singuler care make it comfortable with borowed houres from their sleep. The same consideration of commone imploymente constantly by the most is a good reason not to have the ·2· daies in a weeke deneyed the few planters for private use, which yet is subordinate to commone good. Consider also how much unfite that you and your likes must serve a new prentishipe of ·7· years, and not a daies freedome from taske. Send me word what persons are to goe, who of usefull faculties, and how many and perticulerly of every thing. I know you wante not a minde. I am sorie you have not been at London all this while, but the provissions could not wante you. Time will suffer me to write no more; fare you and yours well allways in the Lord, in whom I rest,

Yours to use,

JOHN ROBINSON.

An other letter from sundrie of them at the same time. [31]

To their loving friends John Carver and Robart Cushman, these, etc.

GOOD BRETHEREN, after salutations, etc. We received diverse letters at the coming of Mr. Nash and our pilott,[1] which is a great incourag-

[1] The pilot of the *Speedwell* from Delfshaven to Southampton. Dexter (Mourt, *14 *n*) was of the impression that Robert Coppin is intended; that he piloted the *Speedwell* until she was abandoned, when he was transferred to the *Mayflower*. He had

mente unto us, and for whom we hope after times will minister occasion of praising God; and indeed had you not sente him, many would have been ready to fainte and goe backe. Partly in respecte of the new conditions which have bene taken up by you, which all men are against, and partly in regard of our owne inabillitie to doe any one of those many waightie bussineses you referr to us here. For the former wherof, wheras Robart Cushman desires reasons for our dislike, promising therupon to alter the same, or els saing we should thinke he hath no brains, we desire him to exercise them therin, refering him to our pastors former reasons, and them to the censure of the godly wise. But our desires are that you will not entangle your selves and us in any shuch unreasonable courses as those are, viz. that the marchants should have the halfe of mens houses and lands at the dividente; and that persons should be deprived of the ·2· days in a weeke agreed upon, yea every momente of time for their owne perticuler; by reason wherof we cannot conceive why any should carie servants for their own help and comfort; for that we can require no more of them then all men one of another. This we have only by relation from Mr. Nash,[1] and not from any writing of your owne, and therfore hope you have not proceeded farr in so great a thing without us. But requiring you not to exseed the bounds of your commission, which was to proceed upon the things or conditions agred upon and expressed in writing (at your going over about it), we leave it, not without marveling, that your selfe, as you write, knowing how smale a thing troubleth our consultations, and how few, as you fear, understands the busines aright, should trouble us with shuch matters as these are, etc.

Salute Mr. Weston from us, in whom we hope we are not deceived;

been on the coast before, and had trucked with the Indians near a great navigable river, of which he told the Pilgrims when they were seeking a place of settlement. He proved an uncertain guide. P. 173, *infra.*

[1] Thomas Nash, one of the Leyden congregation, is believed to have accompanied the Pilgrims from Holland to Plymouth, England, but thence returned to Leyden. He signed the letter of November 30, 1625 (Bradford, *Letter Book*). His first wife, Margaret Porter, died before 1628, and in November of that year he was married to Margaret Stuart. He resided first in Rijnsburgerpoort, and after 1630, in Noorderende.

we pray you make known our estate unto him, and if you thinke good shew him our letters, at least tell him (that under God) we much relie upon him and put our confidence in him; and, as your selves well know, that if he had not been an adventurer with us, we had not taken it in hand; presuming that if he had not seene means to accomplish it, he would not have begune it; so we hope in our extremitie he will so farr help us as our expectation be no way made frustrate concerning him. Since therfore, good brethren, we have plainly opened the state of things with us in this matter, you will, etc. Thus beseeching the Allmightie, who is allsufficiente to raise us out of this depth of dificulties, to assiste us herein; raising shuch means by his providence and fatherly care for us, his pore children and servants, as we may with comforte behould the hand of our God for good towards us in this our bussines, which we undertake in his name and fear, we take leave and remaine

Your perplexed, yet hopfull
bretheren,
S. F. E. W. W. B. I. A.[1]

June 10. New Stille,
Anno: 1620.

A letter of Robart Cushman's to them.[2]

Brethern, I understand by letters and passages that have come to me, that ther are great discontents, and dislikes of my proceedings amongst you. Sorie I am to hear it, yet contente to beare it, as not doubting but that partly by writing, and more principally by word when we shall come togeather, I shall satisfie any reasonable man. I have been per[32]swaded by some, espetialy this bearer, to come and clear things unto you; but as things now stand I cannot be absente one day, excepte I should hazard all the viage. Neither conceive I any great good would come of it. Take then, brethern, this as a step to give you contente. First, for your dislike of the alteration of one clause in the conditions, if you conceive it right, ther can be no blame lye

[1] In Governor Bradford's *Collection of Letters*, these subscribers are thus wrote out at length: Samuel Fuller, William Bradford, Isaac Allerton, Ed. Winslow. Prince, in *Bradford* ms.

[2] This letter is without date, but was probably written soon after the receipt of the letter printed above.

on me at all. For the articles first brought over by John Carver were never seene of any of the adventurers hear, excepte Mr. Weston, neither did any of them like them because of that clause; nor Mr. Weston himselfe, after he had well considered it. But as at the first ther was ·500*li.* withdrawne by Sir Georg Farrer [1] and his brother upon that dislike, so all the rest would have withdrawne (Mr. Weston excepted) if we had not altered that clause. Now whilst we at Leyden conclude upon points, as we did, we reckoned without our host, which was not my falte. Besides, I shewed you by a letter the equitie of that condition, and our inconveniences, which might be sett against all Mr. Rob[inson's] inconveniences, that without the alteration of that clause, we could neither have means to gett thither, nor supplie wherby to subsiste when we were ther. Yet notwithstanding all those reasons, which were not mine, but other mens wiser then my selfe, without answer to any one of them, here cometh over many quirimonies, and complaints against me, of lording it over my brethern, and making conditions fitter for theeves and bond-slaves then honest men, and that of my owne head I did what I list. And at last a paper of reasons, framed against that clause in the conditions, which as they were delivered me open, so my answer is open to you all. And first, as they are no other but inconveniences, shuch as a man might frame ·20· as great on the other side, and yet prove nor disprove nothing by them, so they misse and mistake both the very ground of the article and nature of the project. For, first, it is said, that if ther had been no divission of houses and lands, it had been better for the poore. True, and that showeth the inequalitie of the conditions; we should more respecte him that ventureth both his money and his person, then him that ventureth but his person only.

2. Consider wheraboute we are, not giveing almes, but furnishing a store house; no one shall be porer then another for ·7· years, and if any be rich, none can be pore. At the least, we must not in shuch bussines crie, pore, pore, mercie, mercie. Charitie hath it life in wraks, not

[1] It would not be very strange if Cushman had given the wrong surname, intending either John, Nicholas, or William Ferrar, sons of Nicholas Ferrar, the merchant adventurer of London, who, with his sons, took so great an interest in the Virginia Company. The naming of a title is, however, difficult to explain.

in ventures; you are by this most in a hopefull pitie of makeing, therfore complaine not before you have need.

3. This will hinder the building of good and faire houses, contrarie to the advise of pollitiks. A. So we would have it; our purpose is to build for the presente shuch houses as, if need be, we may with litle greefe set a fire, and rune away by the lighte; our riches shall not be in pompe, but in strenght; if God send us riches, we will imploye them to provid more men, ships, munition, etc. You may see it amongst the best pollitiks, that a common wele is readier to ebe then to flow, when once fine houses and gay cloaths come up.

4. The Gove[rnment] may prevente excess in building. A. But if it be on all men beforehand resolved on, to build mean houses, the Gove-[rnor's] laboure is spared.

5. All men are not of one condition. A. If by condition you mean wealth, you are mistaken; if you mean by condition, qualities, then I say he that is not contente his neighbour shall have as good a house, fare, means, etc. as him selfe, is not of a good qualitie. 2ly. Shuch retired, persons, as have an eie only to them selves,[1] are fitter to come wher catching is, then closing; and are fitter to live alone, then in any societie, either civill or religious.

6. It will be of litle value, scarce worth ·5*li.* A. True, it may be not worth halfe 5*li.* [33] If then so smale a thing will content them, why strive we thus aboute it, and give them occasion to suspecte us to be worldly and covetous? I will not say what I have heard since these complaints came first over.

7. Our freinds with us that adventure mind not their owne profite, as did the old adventurers. A. Then they are better then we, who for a litle matter of profite are readie to draw back, and it is more apparente brethern looke too it, that make profite your maine end; repente of this, els goe not least you be like Jonas to Tarshis. 2ly. Though some of them mind not their profite, yet others doe mind it; and why not as well as we? ventures are made by all sorts of men, and we must labour to give them all contente, if we can.

8. It will break the course of communitie, as may be showed by

[1] See p. 43, *supra.*

many reasons. A. That is but said, and I say againe, it will best foster comunion, as may be showed by many reasons.

9. Great profite is like to be made by trucking, fishing, etc. A. As it is better for them, so for us; for halfe is ours, besides our living still upon it, and if such profite in that way come, our labour shall be the less on the land, and our houses and lands must and will be of less value.

10. Our hazard is greater then theirs. A. True, but doe they put us upon it? doe they urge or egg us? hath not the motion and resolution been always in our selves? doe they any more then in seeing us resolute if we had means, help us to means upon equall termes and conditions? If we will not goe, they are content to keep their moneys. Thus I have pointed at a way to loose those knots, which I hope you will consider seriously, and let me have no more stirre about them.

Now furder, I hear a noise of slavish conditions by me made; but surly this is all that I have altered, and reasons I have sent you. If you mean it of the ·2· days in a week for perticuler, as some insinuate, you are deceived; you may have ·3· days in a week for me if you will. And when I have spoken to the adventurers of times of working, they have said they hope we are men of discretion and conscience, and so fitte to be trusted our selves with that. But indeed the ground of our proceedings at Leyden was mistaken, and so here is nothing but tottering every day, etc.

As for them of Amsterdam I had thought they would as soone have gone to Rome as with us; for our libertie is to them as ratts bane, and their riggour as bad to us as the Spanish Inquisition. If any practise of mine discourage them, let them yet draw back; I will undertake they shall have their money againe presently paid hear. Or if the company thinke me to be the Jonas, let them cast me of before we goe; I shall be content to stay with good will, having but the cloaths on my back; only let us have quietnes, and no more of these clamors; full litle did I expecte these things which are now come to pass, etc.

Yours, R. Cushman.

But whether this letter of his ever came to their hands at Leyden I well know not; I rather thinke it was staied by Mr. Carver and

keept by him, for giving offence. But this which follows was ther received; both which I thought pertenent to recite.

Another of his to the foresaid.

June 11. 1620.[1]

Salutations, etc. I received your letter yesterday, by John Turner,[2] with another the same day from Amsterdam by Mr. W. savouring of the place whenc it came. And indeed the many discouragements I find hear, togeather with the demurrs and retirings ther, had made me to say, I would give up my accounts to John Carver, and at his comeing acquainte him fully with all courses, and so leave it quite, with only the pore cloaths on my back. But gathering up my selfe by further consideration, [34] I resolved yet to make one triall more, and to acquainte Mr. Weston with the fainted state of our bussines; and though he hath been much discontented at some thing amongst us of late, which hath made him often say, that save for his promise, he would not meadle at all with the bussines any more, yet considering how farr we were plunged into maters, and how it stood both on our credits and undoing, at the last he gathered up him selfe a litle more, and coming to me ·2· hours after, he tould me he would not yet leave it. And so advising togeather we resolved to hire a ship, and have tooke liking [3] of one till Monday, about ·60· laste, for a greater we cannot gett, excepte it be tow great; but a fine ship it is.[4] And seeing our neer freinds ther are so streite lased, we hope to assure her without troubling them any further; and if the ship fale too small, it fitteth well that shuch as stumble at strawes allready, may rest them ther a while, least worse blocks come in the way ere ·7· years be ended. If you had beaten this

[1] June 11. O. S. is the Lord's day, and therefore 't is likely the date of this letter should be June 10, the same with the date of the letter following. PRINCE, in *Bradford* MS.

[2] One of this name, and two sons, were passengers in the *Mayflower*, and all died the year after landing, in the great sickness of 1621. No Turner was associated with the Leyden congregation, so far as the known records show.

[3] That is, refusal.

[4] This was not the *Mayflower*, which was a larger vessel — ninety lasts, or one hundred and eighty tons.

bussines so throuly a month agoe, and write to us as now you doe, we could thus have done much more conveniently. But it is as it is; I hope our freinds ther, if they be quitted of the ship hire, will be indusced to venture the more. All that I now require is that salt and netts may ther be boughte,[1] and for all the rest we will here provid it; yet if that will not be, let them but stand for it a month or tow, and we will take order to pay it all. Let Mr. *Reinholds*[2] tarie ther, and bring the ship to Southampton. We have hired another pilote here, one Mr. *Clarke*, who went last year to Virginia with a ship of kine.[3]

You shall here distinctly by John Turner, who I thinke shall come hence on Tewsday night. I had thought to have come with him, to have answerd to my complaints; but I shal lerne to pass litle for their censures; and if I had more minde to goe and dispute and expostulate with them, then I have care of this waightie bussines, I were like them who live by clamours and jangling. But neither my mind nor my body is at libertie to doe much, for I am fettered with bussines, and had

[1] Salt and nets emphasize the fact that it was from fishing that the chief profits were to come.

[2] Reynolds, whose first name is not known, was the master of the *Speedwell*, and it was due to his complaints of the unseaworthiness of that vessel that she did not cross the Atlantic.

[3] John Clarke, who had quite a venturous experience in Virginia. In the summer of 1611, a Spanish caravel came to Virginia, as is supposed to explore the country and measure the strength of the English settlement. The Spanish captain demanded of Governor Dale a pilot to bring the caravel into the James River, and, Dale wrote, Clarke was offered. But the three who had landed from the Spanish ship (one of whom was an Englishman) were forcibly detained, and in retaliation Clarke was taken by the Spanish vessel to the Havanna, whence soon after he was sent to Spain, and there remained a prisoner for about four years. He said in 1611 that he was a native of London, a pilot by trade, a protestant in religion, and about thirty-five years of age. In February, 1621–22, Deputy Ferrar acquainted the Court of the Virginia Company, that after his release Clarke "hath since that time doun the Companie good seruice in many voyages to Virginia and of late went into Ireland for transportatc̃on of Cattle to Virginia he was an humble Suitor to this Court that he might be admitted a free Brother of the Companie and haue some shares of land bestowed vpon him," etc. *Records of the Virginia Company*, I. 599; also II. 32, 75. Clarke brought the *Providence* to Virginia in 1623, with Daniel Gookin among the passengers, and died soon after. Brown, *Genesis of the United States* (many references).

rather study to be quiet, then to make answer to their exceptions. If men be set on it, let them beat the eair; I hope shuch as are my sinceire freinds will not thinke but I can give some reason of my actions. But of your mistaking aboute the mater, and other things tending to this bussines, I shall nexte informe you more distinctly. Mean space entreate our freinds not to be too bussie in answering matters, before they know them. If I doe shuch things as I cannot give reasons for, it is like you have sett a foole aboute your bussines, and so turne the reproofe to your selves, and send an other, and let me come againe to my Combes.[1] But setting a side my naturall infirmities, I refuse not to have my cause judged, both of God, and all indifferent men; and when we come togeather I shall give accounte of my actions hear. The Lord, who judgeth justly without respect of persons, see into the equitie of my cause, and give us quiet, peacable, and patient minds, in all these turmoiles, and sanctifie unto us all crosses whatsoever. And so I take my leave of you all, in all love and affection.

I hope we shall gett all hear ready in ·14· days.

Your pore brother,

June 11. 1620. ROBART CUSHMAN.

Besides these things, ther fell out a differance amongs those ·3· that received [35] the moneys and made the provissions in England; for besides these tow formerly mentioned sent from Leyden for this end, viz. Mr. Carver and Robart Cushman, ther was one chosen in England to be joyned with them, to make the provisions for the vioage; his name was Mr. Martin, he came from Billirike in Essexe,[2] from which parts came sundrie others to goe with them, as also from London and other places; and therfore it was thought meete and conveniente by them in Holand that these strangers that were to goe with them, should apointe one thus to be joyned with them, not so much for any great need of their help,

[1] Cushman was a wool comber, from Canterbury. See p. 236, *infra*.

[2] Believed to be Christopher Martin, who was "governor" of the *Mayflower*. As a purchasing agent his ill-conduct receives notice in later pages of this history. He and family of three were swept away in the sickness of 1621.

as to avoyd all susspition, or jelosie of any partiallitie. And indeed their care for giving offence, both in this and other things after ward, turned to great inconvenience unto them, as in the sequell will apeare; but however it shewed their equall and honest minds. The provissions were for the most parte made at Southhamton, contrarie to Mr. Westons and Robert Cushmans mind (whose counsells did most concure in all things). A touch of which things I shall give in a letter of his to Mr. Carver, and more will appear afterward.[1]

To his loving freind Mr. John Carver, these, etc.

LOVING FREIND, I have received from you some letters, full of affection and complaints, and what it is you would have of me I know not; for your crieing out, negligence, negligence, negligence, I marvell why so negligente a man was used in the bussines. Yet know you that all that I have power to doe hear, shall not be one hower behind, I warent you. You have reference to Mr. Weston to help us with money, more then his adventure; when he protesteth but for his promise, he would not have done any thing. He saith we take a heady course, and is offended that our provissions are made so farr of; as also that he was not made acquainted with our quantitie of things; and saith that in now being in ·3· places, so farr remote, we will, with going up and downe, and wrangling and expostulating, pass over the sommer before we will goe. And to speake the trueth, ther is fallen already amongst us a flatt schisme; and we are redier to goe to dispute, then to sett forwarde a voiage. I have received from Leyden since you wente ·3·

[1] Robert Cushman went to Kent in May, 1619, p. 86, *supra*. Both he and his wife came from that county, and as he intended to remain two or three weeks the visit was probably social only. But this letter would show that he had expected to buy some of the provisions for the voyage in Kent (either at Canterbury, his own place, or Sandwich, that of his wife), but other directions given to Martin interfered with these intentions of Cushman. It was Cushman, however, who received whatever money was contributed in London, and Martin acted as purchasing agent at Southampton. P. 142, *infra*. The action taken by Carver in this part of the business appears to have been slight, and he escaped any share of the complaint which arose over the conduct of his colleagues.

or ·4· letters directed to you, though they only conscerne me. I will not trouble you with them. I always feared the event of the Amsterdamers striking in with us.[1] I trow you must excommunicate me, or els you must goe without their companie, or we shall wante no quareling; but let them pass. We have reckoned, it should seeme, without our host; and, counting upon a ·150· persons, ther cannot be founde above 1200*li.* and odd moneys of all the ventures you can reckone, besides some cloath, stockings, and shoes, which are not counted; so we shall come shorte at least· 3 · or · 400*li.*[2] I would have had some thing shortened at first of beare and other provissions in hope of other adventures, and now we could have, both in Amsterdam and Kente, beere inough to serve our turne, but now we cannot accept it without prejudice. You fear we have begune to build and shall not be able to make an end; indeed, our courses were never established by counsell, we may therfore justly fear their standing. Yea, ther was a [36] schisme amongst us ·3· at the first. You wrote to Mr. Martin, to prevente the making of the provissions in Kente, which he did, and sett downe his resolution how much he would have of every thing, without respecte to any counsell or exception. Surely he that is in a societie and yet regards not counsell, may better be a king then a consorte. To be shorte, if ther be not some other dispossition setled unto then yet is, we that should be partners of humilitie and peace, shall be examples of jangling and insulting. Yet your money which you ther must have, we will get provided for you instantly. 500*li* you say will serve; for the rest which hear and in Holand is to be used, we may goe scratch for it. For Mr. Crabe,[3] of whom you write, he hath promised to goe with us, yet I tell you I shall not be without feare till I see him shipped, for he is much opposed, yet I hope he will not faile. Thinke the best of all, and bear with patience what is wanting, and the Lord guid us all.

Your loving freind,

London, June 10. ROBART CUSHMAN.
Anno: 1620.

[1] Members of Henry Ainsworth's congregation.
[2] Counting £10 for each person.
[3] He was a minister. — BRADFORD.

I have bene the larger in these things, and so shall crave leave in some like passages following, (thoug in other things I shal labour to be more contracte,) that their children may see with what difficulties their fathers wrastled in going throug these things in their first beginnings, and how God brought them along notwithstanding all their weaknesses and infirmities. As allso that some use may be made hereof in after times by others in shuch like waightie imployments; and herewith I will end this chapter.

The ·7· Chapter

Of their departure from Leyden, and other things ther aboute, with their arivall at Southhamton, were they all mete togeather, and tooke in ther provissions.

AT length, after much travell and these debates, all things were got ready and provided. A smale ship [1] was bought, and fitted in Holand, which was intended as to serve to help to transport them, so to stay in the cuntrie and atend upon fishing and shuch other affairs as might be for the good and benefite of the colonie when they came ther.[2] Another was hired at London, of burden about ·9· score; and all other things gott in readines.[3] So being ready to departe, they had a day of solleme humiliation, their pastor taking his texte from Ezra ·8·21. *And ther at the river, by Ahava, I proclaimed a fast, that we might humble our selves before our God, and seeke of him a right way for us, and for our children, and for all our substance.* Upon which he spente a good parte of the day very profitably, and suitable to their presente occasion. The rest of the time was spente in powering out prairs to the Lord with great fervencie, mixed with abundance of tears.[4] And the time being come that they must departe, they were

[1] Of some ·60· tune.—BRADFORD. The *Speedwell*. The name is nowhere mentioned in Bradford, and was first given in Morton, *New Englands Memoriall*, *5.

[2] The idea of a small ship to remain with the settlers for fishing and other calls was also in the mind of Weston in 1622. See p. 257, *infra*.

[3] The *Mayflower*. Bradford does not give this name in his History, and the first mention will be found in Bradford's record of "The Falles of their grounds which came first over in the May-Flower, according as their lots were cast, 1623." *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, XII. 4.

[4] "And when the ship was ready to carry us away, the Brethren that stayed having againe solemnly sought the Lord with us, and for us, and we further engaging ourselves mutually as before; they, I say, that stayed at *Leyden* feasted us that were to

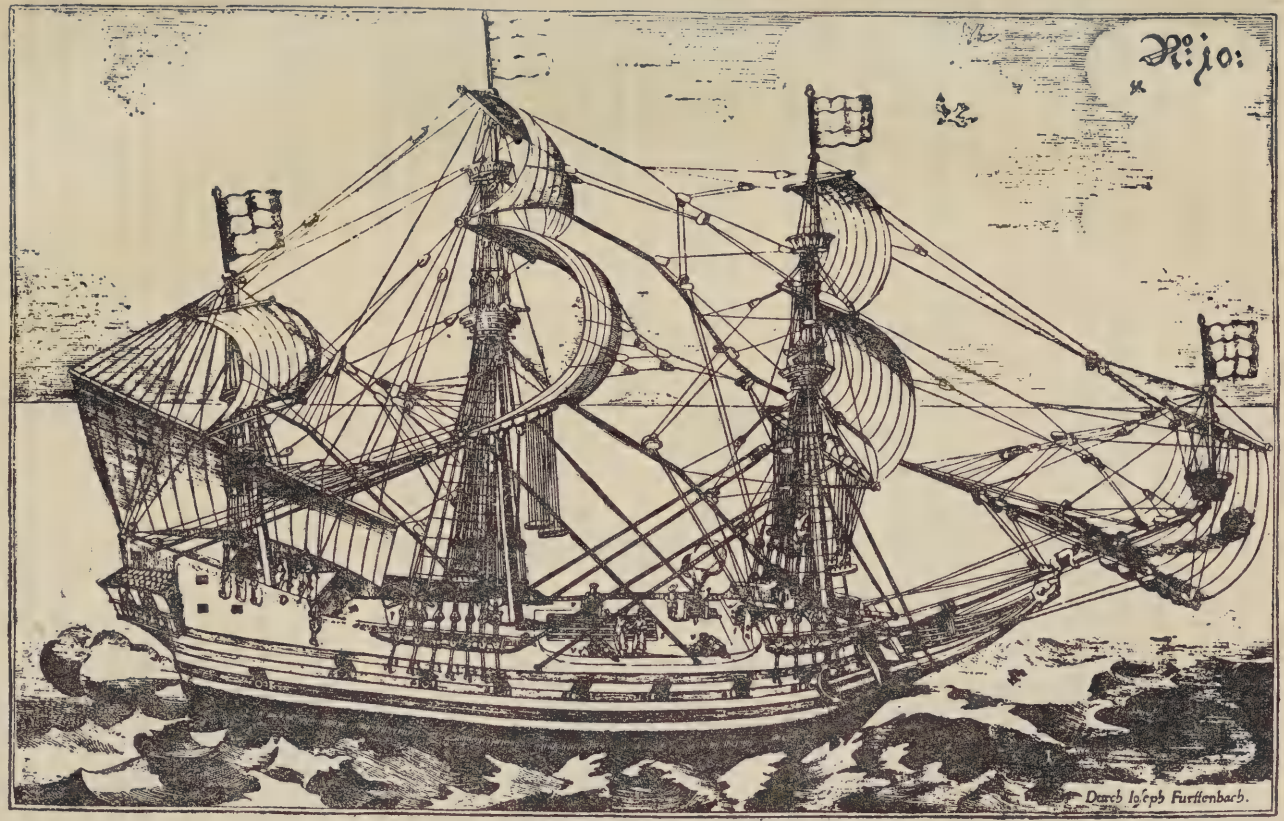
accompanied with most of their brethren out of the citie, unto a towne sundrie miles of called Delfes-Haven, wher the ship lay

goe at our Pastors house being large, where wee refreshed our selves after our teares, with singing of Psalmes, making joyfull melody in our hearts, as well as with the voice, there being many of the Congregation very expert in Musick; and indeed it was the sweetest melody that ever mine eares heard." Winslow, *Hypocrisie Unmasked*, *90. Mr. Dexter makes the reasonable suggestion that the Psalms thus used were those in Henry Ainsworth, *The Book of Psalmes; Englished both in prose and meter*, first printed in Amsterdam, in 1612. A copy of this issue was in Elder Brewster's library. *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 543.

Winslow, *Hypocrisie Unmasked*, *97, summarizes the "wholesome counsel" given by Robinson:

"We were now ere long to part asunder, and the Lord knoweth whether ever he should live to see our faces again: but whether the Lord had appointed it or not, he charged us before God and his blessed Angels, to follow him no further than he followed Christ. And if God should reveal any thing to us by any other instrument of his, to be as ready to receive it, as ever we were to receive any truth by his Ministery: For he was very confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to breake forth out of his holy Word. He took occasion also miserably to bewaile the state and condition of the Reformed Churches, who were come to a period in Religion, and would goe no further then the Instruments of their Reformation: as for example, the *Lutherans*, they could not be drawne to goe beyond what *Luther* saw, for whatever part of God's will he had further imparted and revealed to *Calvin*, they will rather die then embrace it. And so also, saith he, you see the *Calvinists*, they stick where he left them: A misery much to be lamented; For though they were precious shining lights in their times, yet God had not revealed his whole will to them: And were they now living, saith hee, they would bee as ready and willing to embrace further light, as that they had received. Here also he put us in mind of our Church-Covenant (at least that part of it) whereby wee promise and covenant with God and one with another, to receive whatsoever light or truth shall be made known to us from his written Word: but withall exhorted us to take heed what we received for truth, and well to examine and compare, and weigh it with other Scriptures of truth, before we received it; For, saith he, *It is not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick Antichristian darknesse, and that full perfection of knowledge should breake forth at once.*

"Another thing hee commended to us, was, that wee should use all meanes to avoid and shake off the name of *Brownist*, being a meer nick-name and brand to make Religion odious, and the professors of it to the Christain world; and to that end, said hee, I should be glad if some godly Minister would goe over with you, or come to you, before my comming; For, said hee, there will bee no difference between the unconformable Ministers and you, when they come to the practise of the Ordinances out of the Kingdome: And so advised us by all means to endeavour to close with the godly



MERCHANT SHIP OF VENICE, 1629. See p. 148, *infra*

ready to receive them.[1] So they lefte the goodly and pleasante citie, which had been ther resting place near ·12· years; but they knew they were pilgrimes,[2] and looked not much on those things, but lift up their eyes to the heavens, their dearest cuntrie, and quieted their spirits.[3] When they [37] came to the place they found the ship and all things ready; and shuch of their freinds as could not come with them followed after them, and sundrie also came from Amsterdame to see them shipte and to take their leave of them.[4] That night was spent with litle sleepe by the most, but with freindly entertainmente and christian discourse and other reall expressions of true christian love. The next day, the wind being faire, they wente aborde, and their freinds with them, where truly

party of the Kingdome of *England*, and rather to study union then division; *viz.*, how neare we might possibly, without sin close with them, then in the least measure to affect division or separation from them. And be not loath to take another Pastor or Teacher, saith hee, for that flock that hath two shepherds is not indangered, but secured by it. Many other things there were of great and weighty consequence which he commended to us." There is no other evidence that this summarizes the address or sermon of Robinson on the last day of the Pilgrims' stay in Leyden. Neal, *History of the Puritans*, 1. 476, accepts it as such. See Sumner, in 3 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, IX. 69.

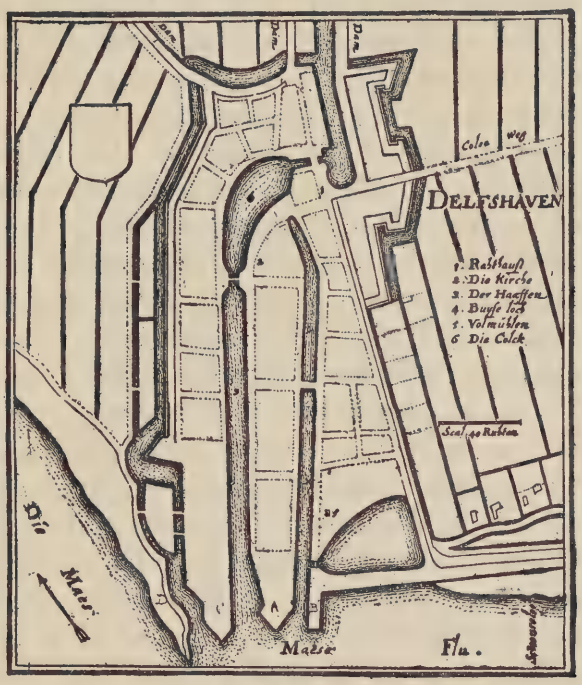
[1] Of Delftshaven, Sir William Brereton wrote in 1634: "It might well be accounted a fine town subsisting of itself, seeing it is so curiously built, and so dainty a harbour for shipping even in the streets: but this depends upon and belongs unto Delph, being only intended as it is called, Delphshaven. No town in England worth such a haven." *Travels*, 5.

[2] Heb. 11. — BRADFORD.

[3] Dexter conjectures that it was on Friday, July 21/31 the Pilgrims set out from Leyden for Delftshaven, the port of Delft, on the Maas. "They doubtless left Leyden by the *Vliet*, which stretches south for a mile and then turns to the southwest. A few villages diversify the green expanse and near Ryswick the canal bends almost southeast to Delft. Passing through this picturesque city, it continues to Delfshaven. The distance is perhaps twenty-five miles and the journey must have occupied six or eight hours." *England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 587. Young gives the distance as about fourteen miles.

[4] "After this they [the Brethren that stayed] accompanyed us to *Delphs Haven*, where wee were to imbarque, and there feasted us again." Winslow, *Hypocrisie Unmasked*, *91.

dolfull was the sight of that sadd and mournfull parting; to see what sighs and sobbs and praires did sound amongst them, what tears did gush from every eye, and pithy speeches peirst each harte; that sundry of the Dutch strangers that stood on the key as spectators, could not refraine from tears. Yet comfortable and sweete it was to see shuch lively and true expressions of dear and unfained love. But the tide (which stays for no man) caling them away that were thus loath to departe, their Reve[ren]d pastor falling downe on his knees, (and they all with him,) with watrie cheeks commended them with most fervente praiers to the Lord and his blessing. And then with mutuall imbrases and many tears, they tooke their leaves one of an other; which proved to be the last leave to many of them.[2]



DELFTSHAVEN, 17—[1]

[1] From a plan of unknown date, but believed to be of the early eighteenth century. Part of the wharf A has been removed, but on it is said to have been in the seventeenth century a "poorhouse for travellers." Here the Pilgrims may have passed the night before embarking.

[2] "And after prayer performed by our Pastor, where a flood of teares was poured out, they accompanyed us to the Ship, but were not able to speake one to another for the abundance of sorrow to part: but wee onely going aboard (the ship lying to the key)

Thus hoysing saile,[1] with a prosperus winde they came in short time to Southhamton, wher they found the bigger ship come from London, lying ready, with all the rest of their company. After a joyfull wellcome, and mutuall congratulations, with other frendly entertainements, they fell to parley aboute their bussines, how to dispatch with the best expedition; as allso with their agents, aboute the alteration of the conditions. Mr. Carver pleaded he was imployed hear at Hamton, and knew not well what the other had don at London. Mr. Cushman answered, he had done nothing but what he was urged too, partly by the grounds of equity, and more espetialy by necessitie, other wise all had bene dasht and many undon. And in the begining he aquainted his felow agents here with, who consented unto him, and left it to him to execute, and to receive the money at London and send it downe to them at Hamton, wher they made the provissions; the which he accordingly did, though it was against his minde, and some of the marchants, that they were their made. And for giveing them notise at Leyden of this change, he could not well in regarde of the shortnes of the time; againe, he knew it would trouble them and hinder the bussines, which was already delayed overlong in regard of the season of the year, which he feared they would find to their cost. But these things gave not contente at presente. Mr. Weston, likwise, came up from London to see them dispatcht and to have the conditions confirmed; but they refused, and answered him, that he knew right well that these were not according to the first agreemente, neither could they yeeld to them without the consente of the rest that were behind. And indeed they had spetiall charge when they came away, from the

and ready to set sayle, (the winde being faire) wee gave them a volley of small shot, and three pieces of Ordinance, and so lifting up our hands to each other, and our hearts for each other to the Lord our God, we departed, and found his presence with us in the midst of our manifold straits hee carried us thorow: And if any doubt this relation, the Dutch, as I heare, at *Delphs* Haven preserve the memory of it to this day [1646], and will inform them." *Hypocrisie Unmasked*, *91.

[1] This was about ·22· of July.—BRADFORD.



EMBARKATION OF THE PILGRIMS, DELFTSHAVEN

cheefe of those that were behind, not to doe it. At which he was much offended, and tould them, they must then looke to stand on their owne leggs. So he returned in displeasure, and this was the first ground of discontent betweene them. And wheras ther wanted well near 100*li.* to clear things at their going away, he would not take order to disburse a penie, but let them shift as they could. [38] So they were forst to selle of some of their provissions to stop this gape, which was some ·3· or ·4· score firkins of butter, which comoditie they might best spare, haveing provided to large a quantitie of that kind.[1] Then they write a leter to the marchants and adventure[r]s aboute the diferances concerning the conditions, as foloweth.

Aug. 3. Anno: 1620.[2]

BELOVED FREINDS, Sory we are that ther should be occasion of writing at all unto you, partly because we ever expected to see the most of you hear, but espetially because ther should any differance at all be conceived betweene us. But seing it faleth out that we cannot conferr togeather, we thinke it meete (though brefly) to show you the just cause and reason of our differing from those articles last made by Robart Cushman, without our comission or knowledg. And though he might propound good ends to him selfe, yet it no way justifies his doing it. Our maine diference is in the ·5· and ·9· article, concerning the deviding or holding of house and lands;[3] the injoying wherof some of

[1] A firkin of butter contained fifty-six pounds, by proclamation. The export of butter from England had been prohibited by an act passed in the reign of Philip and Mary, on pain of confiscation of ship, etc., and imprisonment. Under James I, in the fifteenth year of his rule, license was given to export three thousand barrels of Welsh butter annually from the ports of Bristol, Barnstable, Cardiff, and Chepstow, and to victual ships to an agreed amount. This part of the provision probably formed the most salable item. Captain John Smith printed in 1623 "A particular of such necessaries as either priuate families, or single persons, shall have cause to prouide to goe to *Virginia*," in which butter was not mentioned. *Generall Historie*, 161. In 1675 Josselyn gave what he regarded as necessary ship provisions, and allowed a daily ration of one quarter of a pound of butter to a mess of four men. *Relation of Two Voyages*, *12.

[2] In the Bradford *Letter Book* this is dated at Southampton. PRINCE.

[3] P. 105, *supra.*

your selves well know, was one spetiall motive, amongst many other, to provoke us to goe. This was thought so reasonable, that when the greatest of you in adventure (whom we have much cause to respecte), when he propounded conditions to us freely of his owne accorde, he set this downe for one; a coppy wherof we have sent unto you, with some additions then added by us; which being liked on both sides, and a day set for the paimente of moneys, those of Holland paid in theirs. After that, Robart Cushman, Mr. Peirce, and Mr. Martine,[1] brought them into a better forme, and write them in a booke now extante; and upon Robarts shewing them and delivering Mr. Mullins [2] a coppy therof under his hand (which we have), he payd in his money. And we of Holland had never seen other before our coming to Hamton, but only as one got for him selfe a private coppy of them; upon sight wherof we manyfested uter dislike, but had put of our estates and were ready to come, and therfore was too late to rejecte the vioage. Judge therfore we beseech you indiferently of things, and if a faulte have bene commited, lay it wher it is, and not upon us, who have more cause to stand for the one, then you have for the other. We never gave Robart Cushman comission to make any one article for us, but only sent him to receive moneys upon articles before agreed on, and to further the provissions till John Carver came, and to assiste him in it. Yet since you conceive your selves wronged as well as we, we thought meete to add a branch to the end of our ·9· article, as will allmost heale that wound of it selfe, which you conceive to be in it. But that it may appeare to all men that we are not lovers of our selves only, but desire also the good and inriching of our freinds who have adventured your moneys with our persons, we have added our last article to the rest, promising you againe by leters in the behalfe of the whole company, that if large profits should not arise within the ·7· years, that we will continue togeather longer with you, if the Lord give a blesing.[3] This we hope is sufficente to satisfie any in this case, espetialy freinds, since

[1] John Peirce and Christopher Martin.

[2] William Mullins was a passenger in the *Mayflower*, and came from Dorking, county Surrey. He died at New Plymouth, in February, 1620–21. *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, XLII. 62.

[3] It was well for them that this was not accepted. — BRADFORD.

we are asured that if the whole charge was devided into ·4· parts, ·3· of them will not stand upon it, netheir doe regarde it, etc. We are in shuch a streate at presente, as we are forced to sell away ·60*li.* worth of our provissions to cleare the Haven, and withall put our selves upon great extremities, scarce haveing any butter, no oyle, not a sole to mend a shoe, [39] nor every man a sword to his side, wanting many muskets, much armoure, etc. And yet we are willing to expose our selves to shuch eminente dangers as are like to insue, and trust to the good providence of God, rather then his name and truth should be evill spoken of for us. Thus saluting all of you in love, and beseeching the Lord to give a blesing to our endeavore, and keepe all our harts in the bonds of peace and love, we take leave and rest,

Yours, etc.

Aug[ust] 3. 1620.

It was subscribed with many names of the cheefest of the company.

At their parting Mr. Robinson write a leter to the whole company, which though it hath already bene printed,[1] yet I thought good here likwise to inserte it; as also a breefe leter writ at the same time to Mr. Carver, in which the tender love and godly care of a true pastor appears.

My dear Brother, I received inclosed in your last leter the note of information, which I shall carefuly keepe and make use of as ther shall be occasion. I have a true feeling of your perplexitie of mind and toyle of body, but I hope that you who have allways been able so plentifully to administer comforte unto others in their trials, are so well furnished for your selfe as that farr greater difficulties then you have yet undergone (though I conceive them to have been great enough) cannot opprese you, though they press you, as the Apostle speaks.[2] The spirite of a man (sustained by the spirite of God) will sustaine his infirmitie, I dout not so will yours. And the beter much when you shall injoye the presence and help of so many godly and wise bretheren, for

[1] In Mourt's *Relation*. [2] Acts, xviii. 5. "Paul was pressed in the spirit."

the bearing of part of your burthen, who also will not admitte into their harts the least thought of suspition of any the least negligence, at least presumption, to have been in you, what so ever they thinke in others. Now what shall I say or write unto you and your goodwife my loving sister? [1] even only this, I desire (and allways shall) unto you from the Lord, as unto my owne soule; and assure your selfe that my harte is with you, and that I will not forslowe my bodily coming at the first oppertunitie. I have writen a large leter to the whole, and am sorie I shall not rather speak then write to them; and the more, considering the wante of a preacher, which I shall also make sume spurr to my hastening after you. I doe ever commend my best affection unto you, which if I thought you made any doubte of, I would express in more, and the same more, ample and full words. And the Lord in whom you trust and whom you serve ever in this bussines and journey, guid you with his hand, protecte you with his winge, and shew you and us his salvation in the end, and bring us in the mean while togeather in the place desired, if shuch be his good will, for his Christs sake. Amen.

Yours, etc.

Jo: R[OBINSON].

July 27, 1620.

This was the last letter that Mr. Carver lived to see from him. The other follows.[2]

LOVINGE CHRISTIAN FRIENDS, I doe hartily and in the Lord salute you all, as being they with whom I am presente in my best affection, and most ernest longings after you, though I be constrained for a while to be bodily absente from you. I say constrained, God knowing how willingly, and much rather then other wise, I would have borne my part with you in this first brunt, were I not by strong necessitie held back for the present. Make accounte of me in the mean while, as of a man devided in my selfe with great paine, and as (naturall bonds set a side) having my beter parte with you. [40] And though

[1] Catharine Carver, whose family name is unknown.

[2] This letter is omitted in Governor Bradford's *Collection of Letters*. PRINCE, in *Bradford* MS.



COINS AND MEDALS, 1604–1643

I doubt not but in your godly wisdoms, you both foresee and resolve upon that which concerneth your presente state and condition, both severally and joyntly, yet have I thought it but my duty to add some furder spurr of provocation unto them, who rune allready, if not because you need it, yet because I owe it in love and dutie. And first, as we are daly to renew our repentance with our God, espetially for our sines known, and generally for our unknowne trespasses, so doth the Lord call us in a singuler maner upon occasions of shuch difficultie and danger as lieth upon you, to a both more narrow search and careful reformation of your ways in his sight; least he, calling to remembrance our sines forgotten by us or unrepented of, take advantage against us, and in judgmente leave us for the same to be swalowed up in one danger or other; wheras, on the contrary, sine being taken away by ernest repentance and the pardon therof from the Lord sealed up unto a mans conscience by his spirite, great shall be his securitie and peace in all dangers, sweete his comforts in all distresses, with hapie deliverance from all evill, whether in life or in death.

Now next after this heavenly peace with God and our owne consciences, we are carefully to provide for peace with all men what in us lieth, espetially with our associates, and for that watchfullnes must be had, that we neither at all in our selves doe give, no nor easily take offence being given by others.[1] Woe be unto the world for offences, for though it be necessarie (considering the malice of Satan and mans corruption) that offences come, yet woe unto the man or woman either by whom the offence cometh, saith Christ, Mat. 18. 7.[2] And if offences in the unseasonable use of things in them selves indifferent, be more to be feared then death it selfe, as the Apostle teacheth, 1. Cor. 9. 15. how much more in things simply evill, in which neither honour of God nor love of man is thought worthy to be regarded. Neither yet is it sufficiente that we keepe our selves by the grace of God from giveing

[1] In his *New Essays*, ch. XXXVII., Robinson quotes approvingly from Chrysostom: "If men good and bad be joined together in special bond of society, they either quickly part, or usually become alike. Friendship either takes, or makes men alike."

[2] Robinson amplifies the text by adding the words "or woman." He makes an application of this same text to apostates in his *Defence of the Doctrine propounded by the Synod at Dort*, *Works*, I. 391.

offence, exepte withall we be armed against the taking of them when they be given by others. For how unperfect and lame is the work of grace in that person, who wants charritie to cover a multitude of offences, as the scriptures speaks. Neither are you to be exhorted to this grace only upon the commone grounds of Christianitie, which are, that persons ready to take offence, either wante charitie, to cover offences, or wisdome duly to waigh humane frailtie; or lastly, are grosse, though close hipocrites, as Christ our Lord teacheth, Mat. ·7·1, 2, 3, as indeed in my owne experience, few or none have bene found which sooner give offence, then shuch as easily take it; neither have they ever proved sound and profitable members in societies, which have nurished this touchey humor. But besides these, ther are diverse motives provoking you above others to great care and conscience this way: As first, you are many of you strangers, as to the persons, so to the infirmities one of another, and so stand in neede of more watchfullnes this way, least when shuch things fall out in men and women as you suspected not, you be inordinatly affected with them; which doth require at your hands much wisdome and charitie for the covering and preventing of incident offences that way. And lastly, your intended course of civill comunitie will minister continuall occasion of offence, and will be as fuell for that fire, excepte you dilligently quench it with brotherly forbearance. And if taking of offence causlesly or easilie at mens doings be so carefuly to be avoyded, how much more heed is to be taken that we take not offence at God him selfe, which yet we certainly doe so ofte as we doe murmure at his providence in our crosses, or beare impatiently shuch afflictions as wherwith he pleaseth to visite us. Store up therfore patience against the evill day, without which we take offence at the Lord him selfe in his holy and just works.

A·4·thing ther is carfully to be provided for, to witte, that with your commone imployments you joyne commone affections truly bente upon the generall good, avoyding as a deadly [41] plague of your both commone and spetiall comfort all retirednes of minde for proper advantage, and all singularly affected any maner of way; let every man represe in him selfe and the whol body in each person, as so many rebels against the commone good, all private respects of mens selves,

A RELATION OF THE STATE OF *Religion: and with what Hopes and* Pollicies it hath beene framed, and is maintained *in the ſeverall ſtates of theſe weſterne* parts of the world.

LONDON,
Printed for *Simon Waterſon* dwelling *in Paules Churchyard at the* ſigne of the Crowne.
1605

not sorting with the generall conveniencie. And as men are carfull not to have a new house shaken with any violence before it be well setled and the parts firmly knite, so be you, I besheech you, brethren, much more carfull, that the house of God which you are, and are to be, be not shaken with unnecessarie novelties or other oppositions at the first setling therof.[1]

Lastly, wheras you are become a body politik, using amongst your selves civill goverments, and are not furnished with any persons of spetiall eminencie above the rest, to be chosen by you into office of goverment, let your wisdome and godlines appeare, not only in chusing shuch persons as doe entirely love and will promote the commone good, but also in yeelding unto them all due honour and obedience in their lawfull administrations; not behoulding in them the ordinarinesse of their persons, but Gods ordinance for your good, not being like the foolish multitud who more honour the gay coate, then either the vertuous minde of the man, or glorious ordinance of the Lord. But you know better things, and that the image of the Lords power and authoritie which the magistrate beareth, is honourable, in how meane persons soever. And this dutie you both may the more willingly and ought the more conscionably to performe, because you are at

[1] Professor Dexter calls attention to the dearth of intellectual impulse in Plymouth Colony. Brewster and Smith were the only two men in the plantation before 1630 who had enjoyed a university training. Prior to 1650 Harvard College neither received from Plymouth nor contributed to that place more than one or two persons. In 1658, of some eighteen English university men who had come to the colony only three had remained and followed their calling. In seven out of the eleven towns the pastorate was vacant or not yet established, thus confining the clerical and entire learned order to four persons, in a population of as many thousands. The only publications emanating from the colony before 1650 were those of Winslow. The slender means of the settlers and the poverty of the soil made it difficult to provide suitable maintenance for the clergy. Pulpits remained vacant for long periods, and able men, like Norton, Chauncy, Hooke, and Williams, tarried but a short time and went to wider fields. "The glory of Plymouth Colony lies in the simple faith and courage of the Mayflower company, but we scan the history of her territory in vain to find a single man of comparative eminence in the State or national councils, or a single name that can be remembered in the literature of Massachusetts or the world." The want of the stimulus due to a learned class told as heavily against Plymouth as its presence favored the Massachusetts Bay plantation. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, XVII. 345.

least for the present to have only them for your ordinarie governours, which your selves shall make choyse of for that worke.[1]

Sundrie other things of importance I could put you in minde of, and of those before mentioned, in more words, but I will not so farr wrong your godly minds as to thinke you heedless of these things, ther being also diverce among you so well able to admonish both them selves and others of what concerneth them. These few things therfore, and the same in few words, I doe ernestly commend unto your care and conscience, joyning therwith my daily incessante prayers unto the Lord, that he who hath made the heavens and the earth, the sea and all rivers of waters, and whose providence is over all his workes, espetially over all his dear children for good, would so guide and gard you in your wayes, as inwardly by his Spirite, so outwardly by the hand of his power, as that both you and we allso, for and with you, may have after matter of praising his name all the days of your and our lives. Fare you well in him in whom you trust, and in whom I rest.

An unfained wellwiller of your hapie
success in this hopefull voyage,
JOHN ROBINSON.

This letter, though large, yet being so frutfull in it selfe, and suitable to their occation, I thought meete to inserte in this place.

All things being now ready, and every bussines dispatched, the company was caled togeather, and this letter read amongst them, which had good acceptation with all, and after fruit with many. Then they ordered and distributed their company for either shipe, as they conceived for the best. And chose a Gov[ernou]r and ·2· or

[1] In only one place are the Puritans described as wealthy, in a letter to Pope Innocent XI from the Secretary of the Propaganda. "Afterward the Earl [Arundel] being returned in England and giving an Account of the Natives of that Country, many Wealthy Puritans were desirous to remove thither as they did in great Numbers in the Year 1620. To prevent the progress of their Doctrines, the General of the Capuchins was ordered to send into that Country a Mission of his own Order, and several French and English Religious went thither accordingly." The return of Waymouth's voyage is intended, Arundel never having been in America. Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges*, I. 66 *n*.

·3· assistants for each shipe,[1] to order the people by the way, and see to the dispossing of there provissions, and shuch like affairs. All which was not only with the liking of the maisters of the ships, but according to their desires. Which being done, they sett sayle from thence aboute the ·5· of August; but what befell them further upon the coast of England will appeare in the nexte chapter.

[1] Martin was governor on the *Mayflower*.

The ·8· Chap[ter]

Off the troubles that befell them on the coaste, and at sea, being forced, after much trouble, to leave one of ther ships and some of their companie behind them. [42]

BEING thus put to sea they had not gone farr, but Mr. Reinolds the m[aste]r of the leser ship complained that he found his ship so leak as he durst not put further to sea till she was mended. So the m[aste]r of the biger ship (caled Mr. Joans[1]) being consulted with, they both resolved to put into Dartmouth and have her ther searched and mended, which accordingly was done, to their great charg and losse of time and a faire winde. She was hear thorowly searcht from steme to sterne, some leaks were found and mended, and now it was conceived by the workmen and all, that she was sufficiente, and they might proceede without either fear or danger. So with good hopes from hence, they put to sea againe, conceiving they should goe comfortably on, not looking for any more lets of this kind; but it fell out otherwise, for after they were gone to sea againe above ·100· leagues without the Lands



MERCHANT SHIP, 1585[2]

[1] This master has been identified as Christopher Jones. Had he been the Thomas Jones who commanded the *Discovery* (p. 276, *infra*), Bradford would hardly have spoken of the latter as "one Captain Jones," after having taken the Mayflower voyage with him. Christopher Jones attested a copy of the will of William Mullins, and was at New Plymouth in April, 1621. 2 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, v. 35.

[2] By John White. See p. 148, *infra*.

End, houlding company togeather all this while, the m[aste]r of the small ship complained his ship was so leake as he must beare up or sinke at sea, for they could scarce free her with much pumping. So they came to consultation againe, and resolved both ships to bear up backe againe and put into Plimmoth, which accordingly was done. But no spetiall leake could be founde, but it was judged to be the generall weaknes of the shipe, and that shee would not prove sufficiente for the voiage.[1] Upon which it was resolved to dismise her and parte of the companie, and proceede with the other shipe. The which (though it was greeveous, and caused great discouragmente) was put in execution. So after they had tooke out shuch provission as the other ship could well stow, and concluded both what number and what persons to send bak, they made another sad parting, the one ship going backe for London, and the other was to proceede on her viage. Those that went bak were for the most parte shuch as were willing so to doe, either out of some discontente, or feare they conceived of the ill success of the vioage, seeing so many croses befale, and the year time so farr spente; but others, in regarde of their owne weaknes, and charge of many yonge children, were thought least usefull, and most unfite to bear the brunte of this hard adventure; unto which worke of God, and judgmente of their brethern, they were contented to submite. And thus, like Gedions armie,[2] this small number was devided, as

[1] There is no reason to suppose that the Pilgrims had any special familiarity with shipping. In the early part of the seventeenth century shipbuilding was undergoing a radical change. Vessels of the older style were being driven rapidly out of competitive trade, and as a consequence were in the market. The English ships of the new design had finer lines and were faster than those constructed in either Spanish or Dutch yards. J. K. Laughton in *Cambridge Modern History*, III. 309, 312. The *Speedwell* seems to have been a vessel of the older type. Slow-going and overmasted, she proved crank and leaky in a moderate wind. That she afterwards sailed in ocean voyages does not disprove the probability that she was to a degree unseaworthy, or that the master took advantage of her defects.

[2] Deut. xx. 5–8. The verses embody the proclamation usually made before going into battle.

A DESCRIPTION of *New England:*

OR

THE OBSERVATIONS, AND diſcoueries, of Captain *Iohn Smith* (Admirall of that Country) in the North of *America*, in the yeare *of our Lord* 1614: *with the ſucceſſe of ſixe Ships, that went the next yeare* 1615; *and the* accidents befell him among the *French men of warre:*

With the proofe of the preſent benefit this Countrey affoords: whither this preſent yeare, 1616, *eight voluntary Ships are gone to make further tryall.*

At LONDON
Printed by *Humfrey Lownes*, for *Robert Clerke*; and are to be ſould at his houſe called the Lodge, in Chancery lane, ouer againſt Lincolnes Inne. 1616.

if the Lord by this worke of his providence thought these few to many for the great worke he had to doe. But here by the way let me show, how afterward it was found that the leaknes of this ship was partly by being overmasted, and too much pressed with sayles; for after she was sould and put into her old trime, she made many viages and performed her service very sufficently, to the great profite of her owners.[1] But more espetially, by the cuning and deceite of the m[aste]r and his company, who were hired to stay a whole year in the cuntrie,[2] and now fancying dislike and fearing wante of victeles, they ploted this strategem to free them selves; as afterwards was knowne, and by some of them confessed. For they apprehended that the greater ship, being of force, and in whom most of the provissions were stowed, she would retayne enough for her selfe, what soever became of them or the passengers; and indeed shuch speeches had bene cast out by some of them; and yet, besides other incouragments, the cheefe of them that came from Leyden wente in this shipe to give the m[aste]r contente. But so strong was self love and his fears, as he forgott all duty and [43] former kindnesses, and delt thus falsly with them, though he pretended otherwise.[3] Amongest those that returned was Mr. Cushman and his familie, whose hart and courage was gone from them before, as it seems, though his body was with them till now he departed; as may appear by a passionate letter he write to a freind in London from Dartmouth, whilst the ship lay ther a mending; the which,

[1] In 1635 a vessel, the *Speedwell*, took John Winter and Edward Trelawny from Richmond's Island to England. Baxter says this was the same vessel that had caused the Pilgrims so much trouble, and had been chartered by Trelawny for a voyage to New England. *George Cleeve and his Times*, 49 *n.* The name, however, is often met with in the lists of vessels of that day. A *Speed-well*, of 50 tons, was Martin Pring's vessel in 1603. Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, IV. 1654.

[2] Of the crew of the *Mayflower* at least two were under a like contract, William Trevore and —— Ely. Bradford records that "when their time was out, they both returned." One of these two was the probable informant on the master's "cunning."

[3] Charges of treachery, which were brought by Nathaniel Morton also against the master of the *Mayflower*, receive notice p. 158, *infra.*



SOUTH COAST OF ENGLAND

besides the expressions of his owne fears, it shows much of the providence of God working for their good beyonde mans expectation, and other things concerning their condition in these streats. I will hear relate it. And though it discover some infirmities in him (as who under temtation is free), yet after this he continued to be a spetiall instrumente for their good, and to doe the offices of a loving freind and faithfull brother unto them, and pertaker of much comforte with them.

The letter is as followth.[1]

To his loving friend Ed: S[outhworth] at Henige House
in the Dukes Place, these, &c.

Dartmouth, Aug. 17. [1620.]

LOVING FRIEND, My most kind remembrance to you and your wife, with loving E. M. etc. whom in this world I never looke to see againe. For besides the eminente dangers of this viage, which are no less then deadly, an infirmitie of body hath ceased me, which will not in all liclyhoode leave me till death. What to call it I know not, but it is a bundle of lead, as it were, crushing my harte more and more these ·14· days, as that allthough I doe the acctions of a liveing man, yet I am but as dead; but the will of God be done.[2] Our pinass will not cease leaking, els I thinke, we had been halfe way at Virginia, our viage hither hath been as full of crosses, as our selves have been of crokednes. We put in hear to trimme her, and I thinke, as others also, if we had stayed at sea but ·3· or ·4· howers more, shee would have sunke right downe. And though she was twise trimmed at Hamton, yet now shee is as open

[1] In Governor Bradford's *Collection of Letters*, this is Edward Southworth. PRINCE, in *Bradford* MS. Arber conjectures that this letter came into Bradford's hands by his second wife, Alice, the widow of Southworth, to whom it was addressed. *Story of the Pilgrim Fathers*, 46. Southworth was a member of the Leyden congregation, and a say-weaver, and died before the summer of 1623. The Southworth family is associated with Basset-Lawe, which is in the same hundred as Scrooby, where Robinson's church was located. Alice came to New Plymouth in the *Anne*.

[2] Cushman lived to make the journey to New England and back in 1621, and died early in 1625.

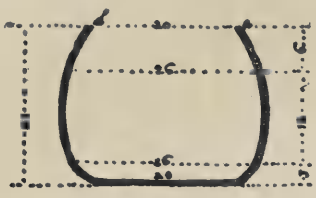
and leakie as a seive; and ther was a borde, a man might have puld of with his fingers, ·2· foote longe, wher the water came in as at a mole hole.[1] We lay at Hamton ·7· days, in fair weather, waiting for her, and now we lye hear waiting for her in as faire a wind as can blowe, and so have done these ·4· days, and are like to lye ·4· more, and by that time the wind will happily turne as it did at Hampton. Our victualls will be halfe eaten up, I thinke, before we goe from the coaste of England, and if our viage last longe, we shall not have a months victialls when we come in the countrie. Neare ·700*li.* hath bene bestowed at Hampton, upon what I know not.[2] Mr. Martin saith he neither can nor will give any accounte of it, and if he be called upon for accounts he crieth out of unthankfullnes for his paines and care, that we are susspitious of him, and flings away, and will end nothing.[3] Also he so insul[t]eth over our poore people, with shuch scorne and contempte, as if they were not good enough to wipe his shoes. It would break your hart to see his dealing,[4] and the mourning of our people. They complaine to me, and alass! I can doe nothing for them; if I speake to him, he flies in my face, as mutinous, and saith no complaints shall be heard or received but by him selfe, and saith they are forwarde, and waspish, discontented people, and I doe ill to hear them. Ther are others that

[1] A reference to the dikes of Holland.

[2] It is known that the adventure or voyage called for at least £10 for each passenger, or £1500 for the whole; and in June, 1620, that sum had not been reached by some three or four hundred pounds. If the £1500 were intended to cover the cost of the voyage from Southampton, and £700 were expended by Martin in that place, some £800 would be left for the ships and crews. The *Speedwell* had been bought, and the *Mayflower* chartered. Josselyn says a ship of one hundred and fifty tons, and a crew of twenty-six men, would cost, with the mariners, £120 a month. That the merchant undertakers drove a hard bargain with the Pilgrims is apparent.

[3] Martin was the first of a long line of business men with whom the Leyden Pilgrims found difficulty over accounts. While distance, time, and dispute over particular items account for the difficulties in some degree, it is apparent that the emigrants were unfortunate as respects those with whom they had to deal. They seem to have been, as a rule, men of a low standard of commercial honesty, having frequent recourse to trickery, for which the so-called "accounts" of those who were responsible for their keeping served a convenient purpose.

[4] He was governour in the biger ship, and Mr. Cushman assistante. — BRADFORD.



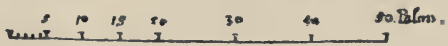
Midship Section

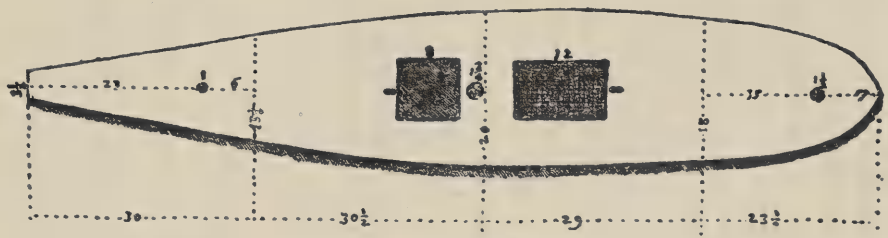


Section through Poop



View of Stern





Deck Plan

MERCHANT SHIP OF VENICE, 1629. MEASUREMENTS. See p. 148, *infra*

would lose all they have put in, or make satisfaction for what they have had, that they might departe; but he will not hear them, nor suffer them to goe ashore, least they should rune away. The sailors also are so offended at his ignorante bouldnes, in medling and controuling in things he knows not what belongs too, as that some threaten to misscheefe him, others say they will leave the shipe and goe their way. But at the best this cometh of it, that he makes him selfe a scorne and laughing stock unto them. As for Mr. Weston, excepte grace doe greatly swaye with him, he will hate us ten times more then ever he loved us, for not confirming the conditions. But now, since some pinches have taken them, they begine to reveile the trueth, and say Mr. Robinson was in the falte who charged them never to consente to those conditions, nor chuse me into office, but indeede apointed them to chose them they did chose.[1] But he and they will rue too late, they may [44] now see, and all be ashamed when it is too late, that they were so ignorante, yea, and so inordinate in their courses. I am sure as they were resolved not to seale those conditions, I was not so resolute at Hampton to have left the whole bussines, excepte they would seale them, and better the vioage to have bene broken of then, then to have brought shuch miserie to our selves, dishonour to God, and detrimente to our loving freinds, as now it is like to doe ·4· or ·5· of the cheefe of them which came from Leyden, came resolved never to goe on those conditions.[2] And Mr. Martine, he said he never received no money on those conditions, he was not beholden to the marchants for a pine, they were bloudsuckers, and I know not what. Simple man, he indeed never made any conditions with the marchants, nor ever spake with them. But did all that money flie to Hampton, or was it his owne? Who will goe and lay out money so rashly and lavishly as he did, and never know how he comes by it, or on what conditions? 2ly. I tould him of the alteration longe agoe, and he was contente; but now he dominires, and said I had betrayed

[1] I thinke he was deceived in these things. — BRADFORD.

[2] Certainly the four signers of the letter of June 10, 1620 (p. 111, *supra*) were much opposed to the conditions accepted by Cushman. There is, however, no reason to believe that they carried their opposition so far as to refuse to proceed in the affair unless the agreement were modified.

them into the hands of shaves;[1] he is not beholden to them, he can set out ·2· ships him self to a viage. When, good man? He hath but ·50*li*· in, and if he should give up his accounts he would not have a penie left him, as I am persuaded,[2] etc. Freind, if ever we make a plantation, God works a mirakle; espetially considering how scante we shall be of victualls, and most of all ununited amongst our selves, and devoyd of good tutors and regimente. Violence will break all. Wher is the meek and humble spirite of Moyses? and of Nehemiah who reedified the wals of Jerusalem, and the state of Israell? Is not the sound of Rehoboams braggs daly hear amongst us?[3] Have not the philosiphers and all wise men observed that, even in setled commone welths, violente governours bring either them selves, or people, or boath, to ruine; how much more in the raising of commone wealths, when the morter is yet scarce tempered that should bind the wales.[4] If I should write to you of all things which promiscuously forerune our ruine, I should over charge my weake head and greeve your tender hart; only this, I pray you prepare for evill tidings of us every day. But pray for us instantly,[5] it may be the Lord will be yet entreated one way or other to make for us. I see not in reason how we shall escape even the gasping of hunger starved persons; but God can doe much, and his will be done. It is better for me to dye, then now for me to bear it, which I doe daly, and expecte it howerly; haveing received the sentance of death, both within me and without me. Poore William Ring[6] and

[1] The usual reading is slaves, but the only doubtful letter is the second. Shave refers to a closeness in bargaining.

[2] This was found true afterward. — BRADFORD.

[3] "My little finger shall be thicker than my father's loins. . . . I will add to your yoke; my father hath chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions." 1 Kings, XII. 11.

[4] Note the same comparison as was used in Robinson's letter, p. 134, *supra*.

[5] Urgently, persistently.

[6] A say-weaver, he is supposed to have turned back with the *Speedwell*. Mary Ring, probably his wife, came to the plantation about 1629, and died in 1633. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, III. 542.

If the number of passengers in the two ships on leaving Southampton was one hundred and fifty, about one third remained in England after the division of the party at Plymouth. The actual number of the Pilgrim party sailing from that port was one hundred and two souls.

my selfe doe strive who shall be meate first for the fishes; but we looke for a glorious resurrection, knowing Christ Jesus after the flesh no more, but looking unto the joye that is before us, we will endure all these things and accounte them light in comparison of that joye we hope for. Remember me in all love to our freinds as if I named them, whose praiers I desire ernestly, and wish againe to see, but not till I can with more comforte looke them in the face. The Lord give us that true comforte which none can take from us. I had a desire to make a breefe relation of our estate to some freind. I doubte not but your wisdome will teach you seasonably to utter things as here after you shall be called to it. That which I have writen is treue, and many things more which I have forborne. I write it as upon my life, and last confession in England. What is of use to be spoken [45] of presently, you may speake of it, and what is fitt to conceile, conceall. Pass by my weake maner, for my head is weake, and my body feeble, the Lord make me strong in him, and keepe both you and yours.

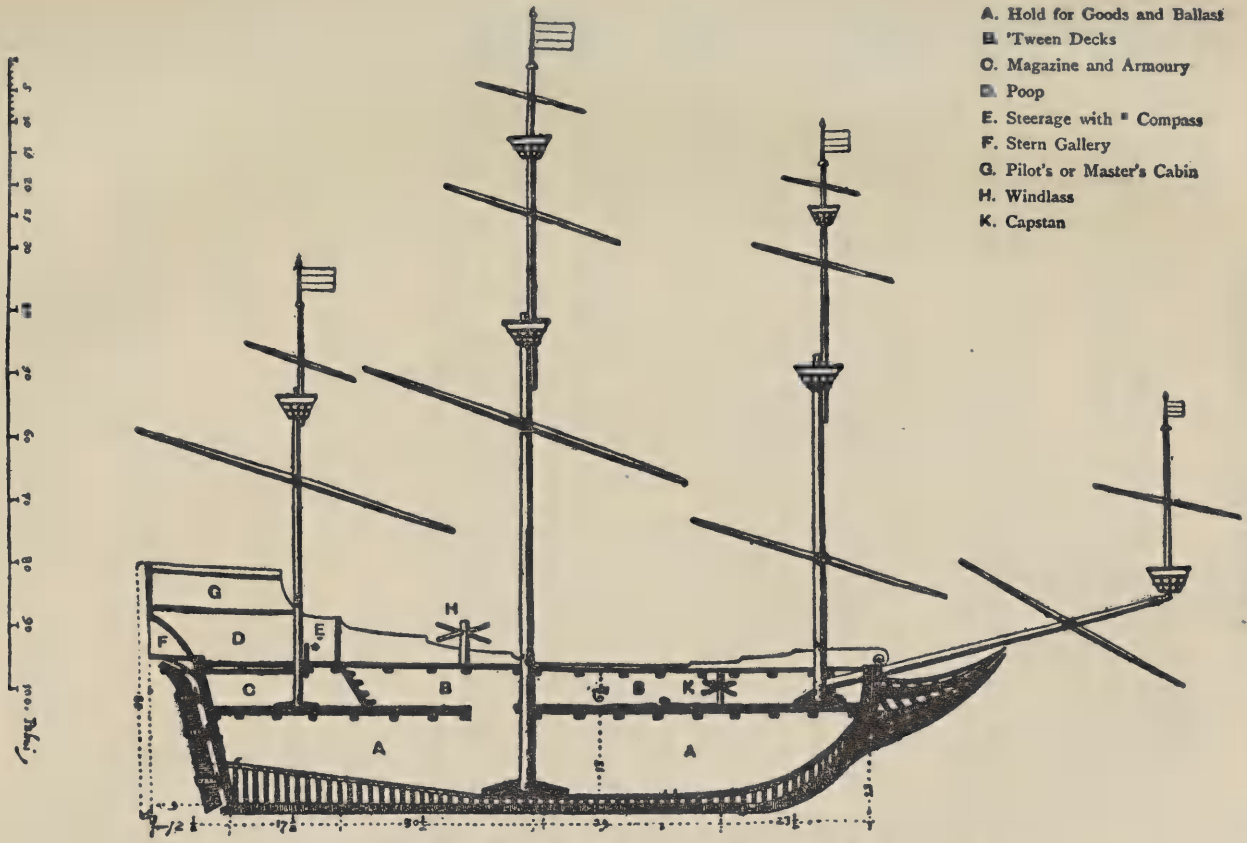
Your loving freind,

ROBART CUSHMAN.

Dartmouth, Aug[ust] 17. 1620.

These being his conceptions and fears at Dartmouth, they must needs be much stronger now at Plimoth.[1]

[1] "Vpon these inducements some few well disposed Gentlemen, and Marchants of *London* and other places, prouided two ships, the one of a hundred and three score tunnes, the other of three score and ten, they left the Coast of *England*, the two and thirtieth of August, with about one hundred and twenty persons, but the next day the lesser ship sprung a leake, that forced their returne to *Plimoth*, where discharging her and twenty passengers; with the greater ship and one hundred passengers besides Sailers, they set saile againe the sixt of September." John Smith, *Generall Historie*, 230. The date is, of course, incorrect, and the tonnage of neither ship is accurately stated. Smith may have written, "the twenty third," a date which Deane accepts as probably correct. Prince, using a sentence in Cushman's letter (p. 142, *supra*) says the two vessels put into Dartmouth "about Aug. 13," and again set sail "about Aug. 21." *Annals*, 71. If the statement of Cushman is correct, the voyage from Southampton to Dartmouth occupied about a week; for had they gone beyond Dartmouth, Plymouth would offer a more convenient resting stage. Josselyn appears to have covered the distance from thirty miles east of the Isle of Wight to eighteen miles east of the



MERCHANT SHIP OF VENICE, 1629. See p. 148, *infra*

Lizard in some twenty-four hours, but he had a vessel of three hundred tons burthen, and was not hampered by a slower consort. *Relation of Two Voyages.*

No description or representation of the *Mayflower* other than the brief references in Bradford exists. There is, however, no reason for believing that she differed materially from the merchant vessels of that day, or that an English vessel of her class differed materially from a merchant ship of any other commercial people of Europe. The map makers of that period almost invariably drew upon some part of their plate one or more vessels, usually of the trading type, with sails set, and threading their way among the monsters of the deep, often much larger than themselves. Whether the map was English, Dutch, or German, the vessels have the same general appearance. The representation given on p. 137, *supra*, is of peculiar interest, as it is taken from the original drawing of John White, who sailed to Virginia with the first and ill-fated settlement (1585), and thus had before him a vessel employed in an oversea voyage. It may be accepted as a fair reproduction of the general appearance of a merchant ship. From Joseph Furttenbach's *Architectura Navalis* (1629) are taken the three plans of an Italian merchant ship (see p. 123, *supra*), and all four are reproduced by the Hakluyt Society in their admirable reprint of the *Principall Navigations*. The outline, interior arrangement and general proportions may thence be obtained. The measurements in the plans are given in *palmi*, or spans of about nine and one-half inches each. That the vessels were to modern ideas absurdly small for such a voyage, that they were certain to be slow and cranky sailers, and that they were overcrowded on the voyage require no proof. The *Mayflower* brought one hundred and two passengers and a crew, with all the necessary stores for a voyage that must occupy months, and in the present case actually occupied eight months, in going to New England and returning. With every allowance there could be no provision for comfort, and very inadequate protection against the perils inseparable from an ocean voyage.

The ·9· Chap[ter]

Of their vioage, and how they passed the sea, and of their safe arrivall at Cape Codd.

SEPT[R]: 6.[1] These troubles being blowne over, and now all being compacte togeather in one shipe, they put to sea againe with a prosperus winde, which continued diverce days togeather, which was some incouragmente unto them; yet according to the usuall maner many were afflicted with sea-sicknes. And I may not omite hear a spetiall worke of Gods providence. Ther was a proud and very profane yonge man, one of the sea-men, of a lustie, able body, which made him the more hauty; he would allway be contemning the poore people in their sicknes, and cursing them dayly with gree[v]ous execrations, and did not let to tell them, that he hoped to help to cast halfe of them over board before they came to their jurneys end, and to make mery with what they had; and if he were by any gently reproved, he would curse and swear most bitterly. But it pl[e]ased God before they came halfe seas over, to smite this yong man with a greeveous disease, of which he dyed in a desperate maner, and so was him selfe the first that was throwne overbord. Thus his curses light on his owne head; and it was an astonishmente to all his fellows, for they noted it to be the just hand of God upon him.[2]

[1] This in double notation would be September 6/16. It is a coincidence worth noting, that on September 17, the future archbishop of London, Laud, first preached before the King, on the introduction of Richard Neile, then bishop of Durham, who had, when in charge of the see of Rochester, appointed Laud one of his chaplains. New England owes to Laud's honest but narrow and misplaced zeal a good share of its mental and religious activities. The contest for conformity supplied the churches of Massachusetts Bay with their leading and most characteristic preachers.

[2] Hardly one of these early emigrant voyages was not without a similar instance,

After they had injoyed faire winds and weather for a season, they were incountred many times with crosse winds, and mette with many feirce stormes, with which the shipe was shroudly shaken, and her upper works made very leakie; and one of the maine beames in the midd ships was bowed and craked, which put them in some fear that the shipe could not be able to performe the vioage. So some of the cheefe of the company, perceiveing the mariners to feare the suffisiencie of the shipe, as appeared by their mutterings, they entred into serious consulltation with the m[aste]r and other officers of the ship, to consider in time of the danger; and rather to returne then to cast them selves into a desperate and inevitable perill. And truly ther was great distraction and differance of oppinion amongst the mariners them selves; faine would they doe what could be done for their wages sake, (being now halfe the seas over,) and on the other hand they were loath to hazard their lives too desperatly. But in examening of all oppinions, the m[aste]r and others affirmed they knew the ship to be stronge and firme under water; and for the buckling of the maine beame, ther was a great iron scrue the passengers brought out of Holland, which would raise the beame into his place; the which being done, the carpenter[1] and m[aste]r affirmed that with a post put under it, set firme in the lower deck, and otherways bounde, he would make it sufficiente. And as for the decks and uper workes they would calke them as well as they could, and though with the workeing of the ship they [46] would not longe keepe stanch, yet ther would otherwise be no great danger, if they

noted more as a providence in favor of the good than as a sea incident. Thus Higginson: "This day a notorious wicked fellow that was given to swering and boasting of his former wickedness, bragged that he had got a wench with child before he came this voyage, and mocked at our daies of fast, railing and jesting against puritans, this fellow fell sick of the pockes and dyed." *Hutchinson Papers*, I. *41.

[1] "The Carpenter and his Mate is to have the Nayles, Clinches, roue and clinch-nailes, spikes, plates, rudder-irons called pintels and gudgions, pumpe-nailes, skupper-nailes, and leather, sawes, files, hatchets, and such like: and [be] ever ready for calking, breaming, stopping leakes, fishing or spliceing the Masts or Yards; as occasion requireth, and to give an account of his store." Smith, *Accidence*, *3.

did not overpress her with sails. So they commited them selves to the will of God, and resolved to proseede. In sundrie of these stormes the winds were so feirce, and the seas so high, as they could not beare a knote of saile, but were forced to hull,[1] for diverce days togither. And in one of them, as they thus lay at hull, in a mighty storme, a lustie yonge man (called John Howland) coming upon some occasion above the grattings, was, with a seele[2] of the shipe throwne into [the] sea; but it pleased God that he caught hould of the top-saile halliards, which hunge over board, and rane out at length; yet he held his hould (though he was sundrie fadomes under water) till he was hald up by the same rope to the brime of the water, and then with a boathooke and other means got into the shipe againe, and his life saved; and though he was something ill with it, yet he lived many years after, and became a profitable member both in church and commone wealthe. In all this viage ther died but one of the passengers, which was William Butten,[3] a youth, servant to Samuell Fuller, when they drew near the coast. But to omite other things, (that I may be breefe,) after longe beating at sea they fell with that land which is called Cape Cod;[4] the which being made and certainly knowne to be it, they

[1] "Wee strucke all sayles, and suffered our ship to bee tossed too and fro by the waues all that night (which Mariners call lying at Hull)." Moryson, *Itinerary* (1617), Pt. I. bk. I, 2. See Albert Matthews in *Col. Soc. of Mass., Trans.* X. 11.

[2] Roll or pitch of the vessel.

[3] He died November 6. See Prince, I. 72, who cites Governor Bradford's Pocket Book, which contained a Register of deaths, etc., from November 6, 1620, to the end of March, 1621. DEANE. He was the son of Robert Butten, and was baptized in the Austerfield Church, February 12, 1598. Davis, in *Bradford* (Original Narratives of Early American History), 94.

[4] The name of Cape Cod is the only remains of Gosnold's visit, in 1602, to this part of the coast. In the *Concord* he sailed round the Cape to the island of Cuttyhunk, and took in a cargo of cedar and sassafras. One of Gosnold's men, Robert Saltern, was with Pring in the voyage of 1603. The cartography of the Cape is fully told in Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston*, I. 37–62. On Ribero's map of 1529 this cape is named C. de Arenas, and on the map of Nic. Vallard de Dieppe of 1543, it is called

were not a litle joyfull.[1] After some deliberation had amongst them selves and with the m[aste]r of the ship, they tacked aboute and resolved to stande for the southward (the wind and weather being faire) to finde some place aboute Hudsons river for their habitation.[2] But after they had sailed that course aboute halfe the day, they fell amongst deangerous shoulds and roring breakers, and they were so farr intangled ther with as they conceived them selves in great danger; and the wind shrinking upon them withall, they resolved to bear up againe for the Cape, and thought them selves hapy to gett out of those dangers before night overtooke them, as by Gods good providence they did. And the next day[3] they gott into the Cape-harbor wher they ridd in saftie.[4] A word or too by the way of this cape; it was thus first named by Capten Gosnole and his company,[5] Anno: 1602, and after by Capten Smith was caled Cape

C. de Croix. Champlain, who followed Gosnold, named it Cap Blanc, and Captain John Smith, Cape James.

[1] Bradford, p. 162, *infra*, gives the date of their reaching the Cape-harbor November 11. "It appears, therefore, that the *Mayflower* was sixty-five days on the passage from Plymouth (England) to Cape Cod, leaving the former place on the 6th of September." DEANE.

[2] See note p. 158, *infra*.

[3] November 11, says Mourt's *Relation*.

[4] Cape Cod is "onely a headland of high hils of sand, ouergrowne with shrubbie pines, hurts [the huckleberry, *Vaccinium Myrtillus*], and such trash; but an excellent harbor for all weathers. This *Cape* is made by the maine Sea on the one side, and a great Bay on the other in the forme of a sickle: on it doth inhabit the people of *Pawmet:* and in the bottome of the Bay, the people of *Chawum*. Towards the South and Southwest of this *Cape*, is found a long and dangerous shoale of sands and rocks. But so farre as I incircled it, I found thirtie fadom water aboard the shore and a strong current: which makes mee think there is a Channell about this shoale; where is the best and greatest fish to be had Winter and Summer, in all that Countrie. But the Saluages say there is no Channell, but that the shoales beginne from the maine at *Pawmet*, to the Ile of *Nausit;* and so extends beyond their knowledge into the Sea." Smith, *Description of New England*, 45.

Smith (*Advertisements*, *14) speaks of the "Isles *Nauset* and *Capawuck*, neere which are the shoules of Rocks and sands that stretch themselves into the marine Sea twenty leagues, and very dangerous betwixt the degrees of 40. and 41."

[5] Because they tooke much of that fishe ther. — BRADFORD.



PART OF CHAMPLAIN'S MAP, 1612 [1]

[1] Quinibequy is Kennebec; Chouacoit, Saco; Beau Port, Gloucester; St. Louis, New Plymouth; C. Blan, Cape Cod.

James; but it retains the former name amongst sea-men. Also that pointe which first shewed those dangerous shoulds unto them, they called Pointe Care, and Tuckers Terrour; but the French and Dutch to this day call it Malabarr, by reason of those perilous shoulds, and the losses they have suffered their.[1]

[1] "The sixteenth [May, 1602], we trended the coast southerly, which was all champaign and full of grass, but the islands somewhat woody. Twelve leagues from Cape Cod, we descried a point with some breach, a good distance off, and keeping our luff to double it, we came on the sudden into shoal water, yet well quitted ourselves thereof. This beach we called Tucker's Terror, upon his expressed fear. The point we named Point Care." Gabriel Archer, *Relation of Captain Gosnold's Voyage*, Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, IV. 1648. Tucker's Terror is identified with Pollock Rip, and Point Care, with Monomoy Point.

Waymouth's ship, in 1605, in approaching the coast first sighted Sankaty Head, Nantucket, and seeking to escape from the rocks and shoals, was "embaied with continuall showldes and rockes in a most uncertaine ground, from fiue or sixe fathoms, at the next cast of the lead we should have 15 and 18 fathoms. Ouer many which we passed, and God so blessed vs, that we had wind and weather as faire as poore men in this distresse could wish: whereby we both perfectly discerned euery breach, and with the winde were able to turne, where we saw most hope of safest passage. Thus we parted from the land, which we had not so much before desired, and at the first sight rejoiced, as now we all joifully praised God, that it had pleased him to deliuer vs from so imminent a danger." Rosier, *True Relation* (Gorges Society), 92.

Champlain, also, in 1606, sailing south along Cape Cod suddenly found his vessel in three and four fathoms of water though at a distance of a league and a half from the shore. "On going a little farther, the depth suddenly diminished to a fathom and a half and two fathoms, which alarmed us, since we saw the sea breaking all around, but no passage by which we could retrace our course, for the wind was directly contrary. Accordingly being shut in among the breakers and sand-banks, we had to go at haphazard where there seemed to be the most water for our barque, which was at most only four feet: wee continued among these breakers until we found as much as four feet and a half. Finally, we succeeded by the grace of God, in going over a sandy point running out nearly three leagues seaward to the south-south-east, and a very dangerous place. Doubling this cape, which we named Cap Batturier, which is twelve or thirteen leagues from Mallebarre, we anchored in two and a half fathoms of water, since we saw ourselves surrounded on all sides by breakers and shoals, except in some places where the sea was breaking but little." He found anchorage in Chatham Roads. Champlain, *Voyages* (Prince Society), II. 118. The "sandy point" is Monomoy, and Champlain marks the sand shoals on his large map of 1612. Some interesting speculations upon this region will be found in *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, XVIII. 42, based upon the probable changes in the coast through the action of the sea.

Being thus arived in a good harbor and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees and blessed the God of heaven, who had brought them over the vast and furious ocean, and delivered them from all the periles and miseries therof, againe to set their feete on the firme and stable earth, their proper elemente. And no marvell if they were thus joyefull, seeing wise Seneca was so affected with sailing a few miles on the coast of his owne Italy; as he affirmed,[1] that he had rather remaine twentie years on his way by land, then pass by sea to any place in a short time; so tedious and dreadfull was the same unto him.

But hear I cannot but stay and make a pause, and stand half amazed at this poore peoples presente condition; and so I thinke will the reader too, when he well [47] considers the same. Being thus passed the vast ocean, and a sea of troubles before in their preparation (as may be remembred by that which wente before), they had now no freinds to wellcome them, nor inns to entertaine or refresh their weatherbeaten bodys, no houses or much less townes to repaire too, to seeke for succoure.[2] It is recorded in scripture [3] as a mercie to the apostle and his shipwraked company, that the barbarians shewed them no smale kindnes in refreshing them, but these savage barbarians, when they mette with them (as after will appeare) were readier to fill their sides full of arrows then other wise. And for the season it was winter, and they that know the winters of that cuntrie know them to be sharp and violent, and subjecte to cruell and feirce stormes, deangerous to travill to known

[1] Epist: 53. — BRADFORD.

[2] "For besides the natives, the nearest plantation to them is a French one at Port Royal, who have another at Canada. And the only English ones are at Virginia, Bermudas and Newfoundland; the nearest of these about 500 miles off, and every one uncapable of helping them." In this same paragraph Prince speaks of the Pilgrims being "disappointed of their expected country, . . . without the Help or Favour of the Court of England, without a Patent, with a Publick Promise of their Religious Liberties." Prince, *Annals*, I. 94.

[3] Act. 28. — BRADFORD.

places, much more to serch an unknown coast. Besides, what could they see but a hidious and desolate wildernes, full of wild beasts and willd men? and what multitudes ther might be of them they knew not. Nether could they, as it were, goe up to the tope of Pisgah, to vew from this willdernes a more goodly cuntrie to feed their hopes; for which way soever they turnd their eyes (save upward to the heavens) they could have litle solace or content in respecte of any outward objects. For summer being done, all things stand upon them with a wetherbeaten face; and the whole countrie, full of woods and thickets, represented a wild and savage heiw. If they looked behind them, ther was the mighty ocean which they had passed, and was now as a maine barr and goulfe to seperate them from all the civill parts of the world. If it be said they had a ship to sucour them, it is trew; but what heard they daly from the m[aste]r and company? but that with speede they should looke out a place with their shallop, wher they would be at some near distance; for the season was shuch as he would not stirr from thence till a safe harbor was discovered by them wher they would be, and he might goe without danger; and that victells consumed apace, but he must and would keepe sufficient for them selves and their returne. Yea, it was muttered by some, that if they gott not a place in time, they would turne them and their goods a shore and leave them. Let it also be considred what weake hopes of supply and succoure they left behinde them, that might bear up their minds in this sade condition and trialls they were under; and they could not but be very smale. It is true, indeed, the affections and love of their brethren at Leyden was cordiall and entire towards them, but they had litle power to help them, or them selves; and how the case stoode betweene them and the marchants at their coming away, hath allready been declared. What could now sustaine them but the spirite of God and his grace? May not and ought not the children of these fathers rightly say: *Our faithers were English men which came over this great ocean, and were ready to perish in this willdernes*,[1] *but*

[1] Deu: 26. 5, 7. — Bradford.



PART OF LESCARBOT'S MAP, 1609

they cried unto the Lord, and he heard their voyce, and looked on their adversitie, etc.[1] *Let them therfore praise the Lord, because he is good, and his mercies endure for ever.*[2] *Yea, let them which have been redeemed of the Lord, shew how he hath delivered them from the hand of the oppressour. When they wandered in the deserte* [*and*] *willdernes out of the way, and found no citie to dwell in, both hungrie, and thirstie, their sowle was overwhelmed* [3] *in them. Let them confess before the Lord his loving kindnes, and his wonderfull works before the sons of men.*[4]

NOTE (p. 152, *supra*).

Morton, in his *New Englands Memoriall*, *12, makes a distinct charge of a plot between Master Jones and the Dutch to land the Pilgrims in a place other than the Hudsons River. "Nevertheless, it is to be observed, that their putting into this place [Cape Cod harbor] was partly by reason of a storm, by which they were forced in, but more especially by the fraudulency and contrivance of the aforesaid Mr. *Jones*, the Master of the Ship: for, their Intention, as is before-noted, and his Engagement, was to *Hudsons River;* but some of the *Dutch* having notice of their intentions, and having thoughts about the same time of erecting a Plantation there likewise, they fraudulently hired the said *Jones* by delayes while they were in *England*, and now under pretence of the danger of the Sholes, &c to disappoint them in their going thither." In the margin Morton adds that of this plot "I have had late and certain Intelligence." Morton was chosen Secretary to the Court of the Colony in 1645 and held that office until his death, June 28, 1685. He thus passed ten years of his official activity during the life of Edward Winslow, and twelve years during

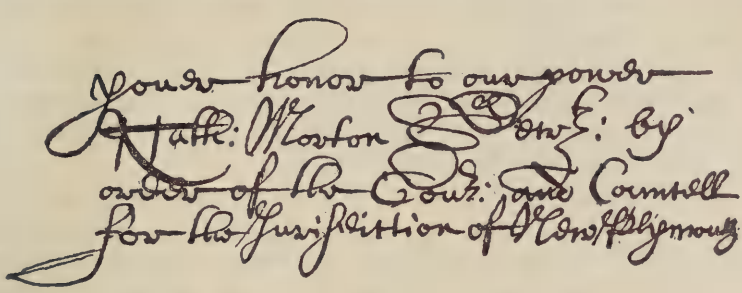
[1] "And on our labour, and on our oppression." *Genevan version.*

[2] 107 Psa: v. 1, 2, 4, 5, 8. — BRADFORD.

[3] "Fainted" is used in both the Genevan and King James versions.

[4] "The preceding chapters embrace that portion of this History which Dr. Young published in the *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, from the copy made by Secretary Morton in the Plymouth Church Records. Morton's copy shows large and important omissions, as will be seen by a collation. The first twenty-six pages of the original manuscript, ending on page 42 of this printed volume [Deane edition], were copied almost entire, though not with verbal accuracy throughout. Greater liberties were taken with the remaining portion. Morton was compiling a church history, and admits that he made omissions." DEANE.

the life of his uncle, Governor Bradford. From the latter he inherited his papers and records. It is hardly probable that Bradford would have remained silent upon such a plot had it come to his knowledge. Nor is it probable that Morton received the information from Bradford himself or from his papers, or from Winslow. He must first have heard of the matter after 1657, and before 1669, the year of the publication of his book. In fact he says his intelligence was "late and certain." No New England writer other than Morton



mentions or suggests the incident, and it has been surmised that Thomas Willett, of the Leyden congregation, and the agent of the Plantation at Kennebeck, was the source of Morton's intelligence. Willett had gone to New York when it was captured by the English in 1664, and became the first mayor of the city. It is conjectured that Willett there learned of the intended "perfidy" of Jones, and passed the information to Morton. As Secretary of the Colony Morton would hardly have given currency to a mere rumor or unsupported narrative. On the other hand, the claims of the Dutch in New York at the time would not be the best source of history, whether the reporter was friendly or otherwise to the conquering English. There exists no really valid reason for rejecting the story, while no entirely acceptable theory can be formed to account for its remaining so long untold. One piece of corroborative evidence may be cited. Sir Joseph Williamson when preparing papers to serve as a justification of hostilities against the Dutch in New Netherland, wrote in 1663 as follows: "Now in the yeare 1620 the difference formerly between Archbishop Whitgift and Mr. Cartwright, the leader of the Non-conformists, and others about Church matters, was againe revived, soe that many persons removed into Holland for liberty of conscience, where afterwards beinge desirous to inlarge his Majesties empire in the west parts of the world, they in order thereunto, hyred a ship at Tarnere [Ter Vere?] in Zealand of 500 tunns to transport themselves, beinge the number of 460 persons, to Hudson's river

aforesaid, or the west end of Longe Island, havinge bene informed they were places of incouragement, in respect of the temperature of aire, scituation and conveniency for tradinge. But the Dutch which transported the said English brake faith with them most perfidiouslye, landinge them, contrary to the agreement at their shippinge, 140 leagues from the place, N. E. in a barren Countrey, since called Plymouth Colonie in New England, where the Dutch havinge thus deceitfully lodged our English, they in the latter end of the same yeare 1621, settled a Dutch factorie in the said Hudson's River, through fraud and trechery, to the wearinge out of our English interest in that place, and contrary alsoe to theire engagement given to Sir Samuel Argoll that they would come thether noe more. Soe that in pursuance of the said engagement, all they have there, both shipps and goods, stands lyable to confiscation." *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, x. 385.

It would be without profit to dissect this statement, and point out the many errors of fact contained in it. What gives it interest lies in the charge of treachery on the part of the Dutch against the Pilgrims, recorded one year before the taking of New Netherland, and in a paper prepared to justify that act. The charge, in all probability, accompanied the English Commissioners sent to take possession of New York, and by this channel reached the ears of Thomas Willett. Such a conclusion merely points to an English origin, and does not indicate the source from which Sir Joseph Williamson obtained it. On July 6, 1663, the Council for Foreign Plantations ordered John Scott, Samuel Maverick and George Baxter to "drawe up a briefe narrative of and touching these perticulars following (viz.) 1st. Of the title of His Majesties to the premises [Manhattan and Long Island]. 2ly. Of the Dutch intrusion. 3dly. Of their deportment since and management of that possession, and of their strength, trade, and government there, and 4thly. and lastly of the meanes to make them acknowledge and submitt to His Majesties government or by force to compell them thereunto or expulse them." Seven days were allowed for the preparation of this narrative. Baxter had long held close relations with the Dutch; Maverick was the well known early settler on Massachusetts Bay, and Scott's career and connections with the Dutch did not qualify him to give an unbiassed opinion on the action to be taken. In short, the report could not but result in a presentation strongly against the Dutch at New Netherland. Unfortunately their narrative, if ever presented, has not been preserved. If it was submitted it could naturally have come to the notice of Under Secretary Williamson, when preparing his papers. The story could not have come from Maverick, for had he known it, he would have inserted it in



MAP LAID BEFORE THE STATES GENERAL, AUGUST, 1616.

his *Account of New England*, compiled about this time. 2 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, I. 242. This reduces the possible source to Scott and Baxter, both of whom had long associated with the Dutch. The mention of the "west end of Long Island" in the Williamson statement offers a clue, as it points to Captain Scott, whose great grievance was the situation of the English at that point, "inslaved by the Dutch their cruell and rapatious neighbours." *Letter to Joseph Williamson*, December 14, 1663. *New York Colonial Documents*, III. 48. The fact remains that in Williamson's memorandum is found the first mention of the plot.

Hubbard, following Morton (*New Englands Memoriall*, *12), is not entirely correct in believing that a settlement could not have been made on the Hudson, because "the Indians in those parts were so numerous and sturdy in their disposition" that the Pilgrims, in their enfeebled condition, could never have defended themselves against them. *History*, 51. The situation as to Indian dangers on the Hudson was not different from that at New Plymouth. The Mohicans on the east bank were at constant enmity against the Mincees (Sanhikans, as the Dutch called them) on the west side of the Hudson, but both were at war with the confederated Iroquois. Like the Massachusetts against the Tarrentines, either would welcome so powerful an aid as an armed Englishman would give. The tribes on Long Island, Manhattan Island and in New Jersey did not possess sufficient strength to oust the new-comers, and the Dutch succeeded in keeping on fair terms with their uncomfortable neighbors. This arose from their trading instincts and methods, which catered to the immediate desires of the Indian without raising his suspicion and hostility by acts of fraud or force.

The ·10· Chap[ter]

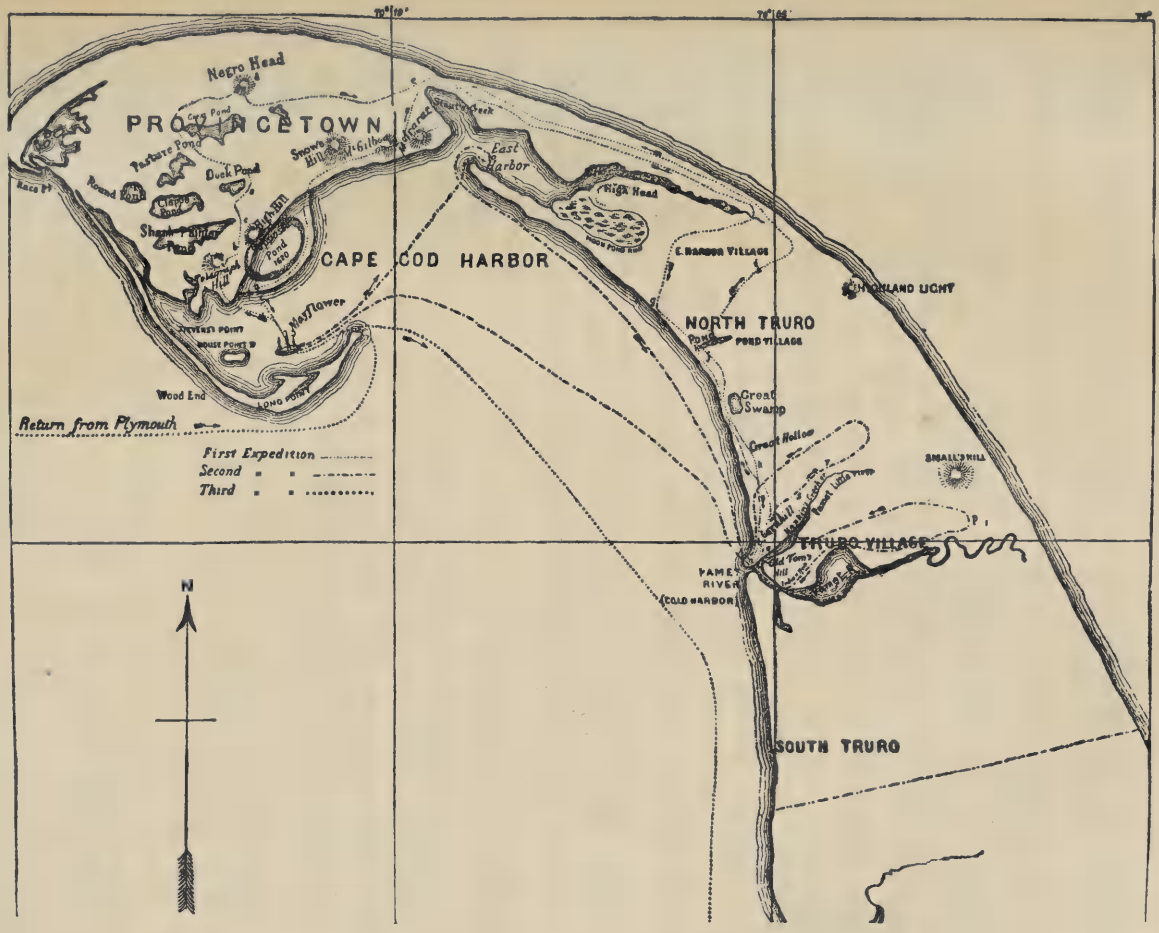
Showing how they sought out a place of habitation, and what befell them theraboute. [48]

BEING thus arrived at Cap-Cod the ·11· of November, and necessitie calling them to looke out a place for habitation, (as well as the maisters and mariners importunitie,) they having brought a large shalop with them out of England, stowed in quarters in the ship, they now gott her out and sett their carpenters to worke to trime her up; but being much brused and shattered in the shipe with foule weather, they saw she would be longe in mending. Wherupon a few of them tendered them selves to goe by land and discovere those nearest places, whilst the shallop was in mending; [1] and the rather because as they wente into that harbor ther seemed to be an opening some ·2· or ·3· leagues of, which the maister judged to be a river.[2] It was conceived ther might be some danger in the attempte, yet seeing them resolute, they were permited to goe, being ·16· of them well armed, under the conduct of Captein Standish, having shuch instructions given them as was thought meete.[3] They sett forth the ·15· of Nove[m]b[e]r: and when they had marched aboute the space of a mīle by the sea side, they espied ·5· or ·6· persons with a dogg coming towards them, who were salvages; but they fled from them, and ranne up into the

[1] As the shallop was disabled, the ship's long boat was used. This was usually the largest boat in the ship, and may have been fitted with sails. Smith says the long boat was in charge of the boatswain's mate, "for the setting forth of Anchors, waying and fetching home an Anchor, warping, towing, and moreing." *An Accidence*, *3.

[2] Pamet River.

[3] With Standish went William Bradford, Stephen Hopkins, and Edward Tilley. Mourt is much more full than Bradford on this expedition, and should be read in this connection.



DEXTER'S MAP OF THE EXPLORATIONS

woods, and the English followed them, partly to see if they could speake with them, and partly to discover if ther might not be more of them lying in ambush. But the Indeans seeing them selves thus followed, they againe forsooke the woods, and rane away on the sands as hard as they could, so as they could not come near them, but followed them by the tracte of their feet sundrie miles, and saw that they had come the same way. So, night coming on, they made their randevous and set out their sentinels, and rested in quiete *that night*, and the next morning followed their tracte till they had headed a great creeke,[1] and so left the sands, and turned an other way into the woods. But they still followed them by geuss, hopeing to find their dwellings; but they soone lost both them and them selves, falling into shuch thickets as were ready to tear their cloaths and armore in peeces, but were most distressed for wante of drinke. But at length they found water and refreshed them selves, being the first New-England water they drunke of, and was now in thir great thirste as pleasante unto them as wine or bear had been in for-times. Afterwards they directed their course to come to the other shore, [49] for they knew it was a necke of land they were to crosse over, and so at length gott to the sea-side, and marched to this supposed river, and by the way found a pond of clear fresh water,[2] and shortly after a good quantitie of clear ground wher the Indeans had formerly set corne, and some of their graves.[3] And proceeding furder they saw new-stuble wher corne had been set the same year, also they found wher latly a house had been, wher some

[1] East-Harbor Creek.

[2] The lake gave its name to Pond Village, in North Truro. It lies three miles north of Pamet River.

[3] "The whole vicinity of Great Hollow to Little Harbor was famous Indian quarters. Only a few years since, where the wind had blown away the sand near the bank on Cornhill, several Indian skeletons were discovered, one in perfect condition, with every tooth white and sound. Indians' graves containing skulls and bones, abundance of arrow heads, and stone hatchets, have been found within a few years. Great deposits of shells marked by a darker belt of green, tell where stood their old wigwams." Rich, *Truro-Cape Cod*, 65.

planks and a great ketle was remaining, and heaps of sand newly padled with their hands, which they, digging up, found in them diverce faire Indean baskets filled with corne, and some in eares, faire and good, of diverce collours, which seemed to them a very goodly sight, (haveing never seen any shuch before).[1] This was near the place of that supposed river they came to seeck; [2] unto which they wente and found it to open it selfe into ·2· armes with a high cliffe of sand in the enterance,[3] but more like to be crikes of salte water then any fresh, for ought they saw; and that ther was good harborige for their shalope; leaving it further to be discovered by their shalop when she was ready. So their time limeted them being expired, they returned to the ship, least they should be in fear of their saftie; and tooke with them parte of the corne, and buried up the rest, and so like the men from Eshcoll carried with them of the fruits of the land, and showed their breethren; of which, and their returne, they were marvelusly glad, and their harts incouraged.

After this, the shalop being got ready, they set out againe for the better discovery of this place, and the m[aste]r[4] of the ship desired to goe him selfe, so ther went some ·30· men, but found it to

[1] Champlain when in this locality, at Chatham Harbor, noted that, "all the inhabitants of this place are very fond of agriculture, and provide themselves with Indian corn for the winter, which they store in the following manner: — They make trenches in the sand on the slope of the hills, some five or six feet deep, more or less. Putting their corn and other grains into large grass sacks, they throw them into these trenches, and cover them with sand three or four feet above the surface of the earth, taking it out as their needs require. In this way, it is preserved as well as it would be possible to do in our granaries." *Voyages* (Prince Society), II. 121.

[2] Pamet River, which consists of a tidal harbor and a creek extending almost across the Cape. Freeman describes the river as dividing into three branches, on which are bodies of salt marsh. *Cape Cod*, II. 537. The divisions are hardly noticeable on modern surveys.

[3] The high bank dividing the two arms of the river is known as old "Tom's Hill or Indian Neck." The Indian name was Squopenik.

[4] *I.e.* Jones.

be no harbor for ships but only for boats;[1] ther was allso found ·2· of their houses covered with matts, and sundrie of their implements in them, but the people were rune away and could not be seen; also ther was found more of their corne, and of their beans of various collours. The corne and beans they brought away, purposing to give them full satisfaction when they should meete with any of them (as about some ·6· months afterward they did, to their good contente).[2]

[1] This expedition was composed of twenty-four of the Pilgrims and ten of the crew, including Jones, a party of thirty-four. A portion landed, as is supposed, in East Harbor Creek, and marched along the shore as they believed some six or seven miles, as the shallop could not proceed by reason of the stress of weather. About eleven o'clock on the next day, Tuesday, November 28, the shallop came to them and took them to Pamet River, fitly named Cold Harbor. Twelve feet at high water, which they established to be the case, would not afford a safe road for ships even of small size.

[2] The party followed the Pamet River some five or six miles, accompanied by the shallop, and passed the night under a few pine trees. The next morning, November 29, they did not hold to their determination to explore the river further; but wearied by the toil of making their way up and down hills and valleys covered with six inches of snow, and discouraged by the unpromising aspect of country and harbor, they retraced their steps and went up Pamet Creek towards Cornhill. The shallop does not appear to have gone into the creek, or even to have been with them when they reached its eastern bank, as they made use of a canoe found there to get to the other side. Mourt is full on the corn found at Cornhill, of which they took about ten bushels for seed.

The party now divided, eighteen remaining to make further exploration, and sixteen returning, with all the corn, to the ship. As the weather was threatening, it was likely that all ten of the sailors went with the shallop, and to them were added "our weakest people, and some that were sicke," or six of the Pilgrims. Jones was not only anxious to return, but would naturally have gone with the vessel, although made "leader" of the entire party. Those who remained spent Thursday, November 30, in following some beaten paths, some six or seven miles into the wood, in the expectation of finding an Indian town or some of their houses; disappointed in this, and returning by "another way," they discovered the grave with the bones and skull of a man, and on the skull fine yellow hair. This circumstance, and the articles found with the remains, led them to believe they had discovered the burial place of an Indian king, or, what was more likely, of a Christian. Near this grave two of the sailors of the returned shallop saw the two houses, mentioned by Bradford, "which had beene lately dwelt in," and of the construction Mourt gives a full account. No more corn seems to have

And here is to be noted a spetiall providence of God, and a great mercie to this poore people, that hear they gott seed to plant them corne the next yeare, or els they might have starved, for they had none, nor any liklyhood to get any [50] till the season had beene past (as the sequell did manyfest). Neither is it lickly they had had this, if the first viage had not been made, for the ground was now all covered with snow, and hard frosen. But the Lord is never wanting unto his in their greatest needs; let his holy name have all the praise.[1]

The month of November being spente in these affairs, and much foule weather falling in, the ·6· of *Desem[be]r* [2] they sente out their shallop againe with · 10· of their principall men,[3] and some sea men,

been obtained this day, and the shallop being not far distant, they embarked upon her and, Dexter concludes, reached the *Mayflower* that night. The direction taken by this party of eighteen can only be conjectured. Dexter says it was probably towards the Atlantic side, and somewhere between Small's Hill and Highland Light. See Mourt, *10–*13.

[1] In spite of the unfavorable conditions and situation of Pamet or Cold Harbor, some believed it a fit place for a settlement. The possibility of raising corn, of which the deposits gave proof, the supposedly good prospect of fishing, and certain advantages of security and immediate safety against the dangers of further discovery and of present disease, were urged. Others, consulting Captain John Smith's map, pointed to the place he called Angoan, unquestionably intended for Agawam [or Ipswich], as offering greater advantages. But Coppin, a pilot, described a navigable river and a good harbor, about eight leagues due west from where the *Mayflower* then lay, and his description doubtless turned the scale in favor of still another, or third expedition for discovery. Six days thus passed between the second and the third discoveries, if the shallop did return to the *Mayflower* upon the night of November 30.

[2] The 6th fell on Wednesday.

[3] Mourt gives the names of the ten: "to wit, Captaine Standish, Maister Carver, William Bradford, Edward Winslow, Iohn Tilley, Edward Tilley, Iohn Houland, and three of London, Richard Warren, Steeuen Hopkins, and Edward Dotte [Doten], and two of our Seamen, Iohn Alderton and Thomas English, of the Ships Company there went two of the Masters Mates, Master Clarke and Master Copin, the Master Gunner, and three saylers." While the ten of the company are accounted for, the number of sailors that accompanied them does not appear. Indeed, not much is known of the composition of the crew and the distribution of titles and functions among the members.

upon further discovery, intending to circulate that deepe bay of Cap-Codd. The weather was very could, and it frose so hard as the sprea of the sea lighting on their coats, they were as if they had been glased; yet *that night* betimes they gott downe into the botome of the bay,[1] and as they drue nere the shore they saw some ·10· or ·12· Indeans very busie aboute some thing. They landed aboute a league or ·2· from them, and had much a doe to put a shore any wher, it lay so full of flats. Being landed, it grew late, and they made them selves a barricado with loggs and bowes as well as they could in the time, and set out their sentenill and betooke them to rest, and saw the smoake of the fire the savages made that night.[2] When *morning* was come [3] they devided their company, some to coast along the shore in the boate, and the rest marched throw the woods to see the land, if any fit place might be for their dwelling.[4] They came allso to the place wher they saw the Ind[i]ans the night before, and found they had been cuting up a great fish like a grampus, being some ·2· inches thike of fate like a hogg, some peeces wher of they had left by the way; and the shallop found ·2· more of these fishes dead on the sands, a thing usuall after storms in that place, by reason of the great flats of sand that lye of.[5] So they ranged up and doune all that day, but found no people, nor any place they liked.[6] When the sune grue low, they hasted out of the

[1] They passed to the south of Billingsgate Point, and landed near the present Eastham, where they passed that night.

[2] Supposed to be four or five miles distant.

[3] December 7.

[4] Eight were in the boat, who found that the bay offered a good refuge for ships, having five fathoms of water, but that no river or creek came into it. The land party discovered two brooks of fresh water, "the first running streames" seen in the country, but looked upon the soil as "none of the fruitfullest." Dexter believes Indian Brook (or Hatch's Creek), lying between Eastham and Wellfleet, and a brook, without name, to the north of it, are intended.

[5] *Delphinus Grampus*. They gave the name of Grampus Bay to this locality.

[6] Mourt tells of their finding Indian footprints, houses, and a place of burial more elaborate than they had yet seen. *17.



PRING'S BARRICADE AT PATUXET (NEW PLYMOUTH)

woods to meete with their shallop, to whom they made signes to come to them into a *creeke* hardby, the which they did at high-water; of which they were very glad, for they had not seen each other all that day, since the morning.[1] So they made them a barricado (as usually they did every night) with loggs, stakes, and thike pine bowes, the height of a man, leaving it open to leeward, partly to shelter them from the could and wind (making their fire in the midle, and lying round aboute it), and partly to defend them from any sudden assaults of the savages, if they should surround them. So being very weary, they betooke them to rest. But aboute *midnight*, [51] they heard a hideous and great crie, and their sentinell caled, Arme, arme; so they bestired them and stood to their armes, and shote of a cupple of moskets, and then the noys seased. They concluded it was a companie of wolves, or such like willd beasts; for one of the sea men tould them he had often heard shuch a noyse in New-found land. So they rested till about ·5· of the clock in the *morning;* for the tide, and ther purposs to goe from thence, made them be stiring betimes. So after praier they prepared for breakfast, and it being day dawning, it was thought best to be carring things downe to the boate. But some said it was not best to carrie the armes downe, others said they would be the readier, for they had laped them up in their coats from the dew. But some ·3· or ·4· would not cary theirs till they wente them selves, yet as it fell out, the water being not high enough, they layed them downe on the banke side, and came up to breakfast. But presently, all on the sudain, they heard a great and strange crie, which they knew to be the same voyces they heard in the night, though they varied their notes, and one of their company being abroad came runing in, and cried, Men, Indeans, Indeans; and

[1] They had parted company with the shallop between nine and ten o'clock in the morning. Apparently the boat was obliged to wait for high water before entering the creek. Dexter accepts the Great Meadow Creek (or Herring River) in Eastham, about one mile E. N. E. of Rock Harbor, as that mentioned by Bradford. In thus doing, he rejects Morton's conjecture of Namskeket creek. *Memoriall,** 19; Mourt, *18.

withall, their arowes came flying amongst them. Their men rane with all speed to recover their armes, as by the good providence of God they did. In the mean time, of those that were ther ready, tow muskets were discharged at them, and ·2· more stood ready in the enterance of ther randevoue, but were comanded not to shoote till they could take full aime at them; and the other ·2· charged againe with all speed, for ther were only ·4· had armes ther, and defended the baricado which was first assalted.[1] The crie of the Indeans was dreadfull, espetially when they saw ther men rune out of the randevoue towourds the shallop, to recover ther armes the Indeans wheeling aboute upon them. But some running out with coats of malle on, and cutlashess in their hands, they soone got their armes, and let flye amongs them, and quickly stopped their violence. Yet ther was a lustie man, and no less valiante, stood behind a tree within halfe a musket shot, and let his arrows flie at them. He was seen shoot ·3· arrowes, which were all avoyded. He stood ·3· shot of a musket, till one taking full aime at him, and made the barke or splinters of the tree fly about his ears, after which he gave an extraordinary shrike, and away they wente all of them. They left some to keep the shalop,[2] and followed them aboute a quarter of a mille, and shouted once or twise, and shot of ·2· or ·3· peces, and so returned. This they did, that they might conceive that they were not a[52]ffrade of them or any way discouraged. Thus it pleased God to vanquish their enimies, and give them deliverance; and by his spetiall providence so to dispose that not

[1] Captain Miles Standish fired the first gun. The party had become divided, some being at the barricaded camp and others at the shallop. Mourt repeats the statement that only four of the camp party had their arms ready, and adds that three guns were fired by the party on the creek, where the larger part of the arms had been deposited. It does not follow, as Dexter seems to say, that there were only four men at the barricado. Mourt, *19 *n.* Johnson, *Wonder-Working Providence*, *8, gives to Standish the credit of wounding the Indian leader, but on what authority, if any, he neglects to state.

[2] Six were left to guard the shallop, "for we were carefull of our businesse."

any one of them were either hurte, or hitt, though their arrows came close by them, and on every side [of] them, and sundry of their



INDIAN SHELL HEAPS ON CAPE COD [1]

[1] From a paper on the Wampanoag Indians of Massachusetts, by Henry E. Chase, printed in the *Smithsonian Report* for 1883, pp. 878–907. Chase suggests that the Indians of Cape Cod were not numerous till a comparatively recent time, that the shell heaps mark places to which the Indians resorted at certain seasons for food, and that nearly all the objects of Indian use or manufacture found on the Cape could have been obtained in that region, thus pointing to a very limited exchange with other tribes. These Indians never abandoned the use of wigwams for houses, which naturally minimized the possibility of many permanent relics, and the shell heaps and burial places were to a great extent obliterated before a sufficiently intelligent interest in their preservation was awakened.

coats, which hunge up in the barricado, were shot throw and throw. Aterwards they gave God sollemne thanks and praise for their deliverance, and gathered up a bundle of their arrows, and sente them into England afterward by the m[aste]r of the ship, and called that place the first encounter. From hence they departed, and costed all along, but discerned no place likly for harbor; and therfore hasted to a place that their pillote, (one Mr. Coppin who had bine in the cuntrie before) did assure them was a good harbor, which he had been in, and they might fetch it before night; of which they were glad, for it begane to be foule weather. After some houres sailing, it begane to snow and raine, and about the midle of the afternoone, the wind increased, and the sea became very rough, and they broake their rudder, and it was as much as ·2· men could doe to steere her with a cupple of oares. But their pillott bad them be of good cheere, for he saw the harbor;[1] but the storme increasing, and night drawing on, they bore what saile they could to gett in, while they could see. But herwith they broake their mast in ·3· peeces, and their saill fell over bord, in a very grown sea, so as they had like to have been cast away; yet by Gods mercie they recovered them selves, and having the floud with them, struck into the harbore. But when it came too, the pillott was deceived in the place, and said, the Lord be mercifull unto them, for his eyes never saw that place before; and he and the m[aste]r mate would have rune her a shore, in a cove full of breakers, before the winde. But a lusty seaman which steered, bad those which rowed, if they were men, about with her, or ells they were all cast away; the which they did with speed. So he bid them be of good cheere and row lustly, for ther was a faire sound before them, and he doubted not but they should find one place or other wher they might ride in saftie. And

[1] Hubbard says the pilot could not distinguish between the Gurnet's Nose, the entrance to Plymouth Harbor, and the mouth of "Sagaquabe Harbor." *History*, 56. Sagoquas is in the list of old names given by Smith, and it appears on his map as Oxford, lying between Plimouth and Cheuyot hill (Massachusetts Mount). In the Court Records Sagaquash is a form of Saquish.

though it was *very darke*, and rained sore, yet in the end they gott under the lee of a smalle iland, and remained ther all *that night* in saftie.[1] But they knew not this to be an iland till morning, but

[1] In the notes to Mourt,*20, will be found the various opinions on the direction taken by the shallop in being swept into Plymouth Harbor. Of interest, also, are William W. Goodwin's account printed in 2 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, XVII. 378, and Edward Channing's note in the same volume, p. 381. Goodwin states that the new moon fell on December 13 (O. S.), and the computed time of high tide at New Plymouth on the 21st would be "very nearly" nine o'clock in the forenoon. The storm was an usual southeast storm — a winter southeaster. In the afternoon the boat must have come up with Manomet Point, the southern point of Plymouth Harbor, and about seven miles from the Gurnet on the north side of the entrance. "If they had seen Manomet, and were not sure of their position, they would naturally have turned the point and found themselves soon in a sheltered cove back of Plymouth Beach, known as Warren's cove, where they would have been in tolerably smooth water and could easily have landed on the back of the beach. But with a broken rudder, and compelled to steer with oars, they could hardly have gone from this place over to Clark's Island, in a heavy gale, passing over Brown's Island shoal, which in a storm is always a dangerous place and generally covered with breakers. The very sight of the rough sea would surely have prevented them from making the attempt. If the wind had been northeast, everything would have been much worse for them. They would then have found themselves at once in 'a cove full of breakers,' from which there would have been no escape. Least of all could they have gone in the teeth of the gale to the north and northeast, the direction of Clark's Island.

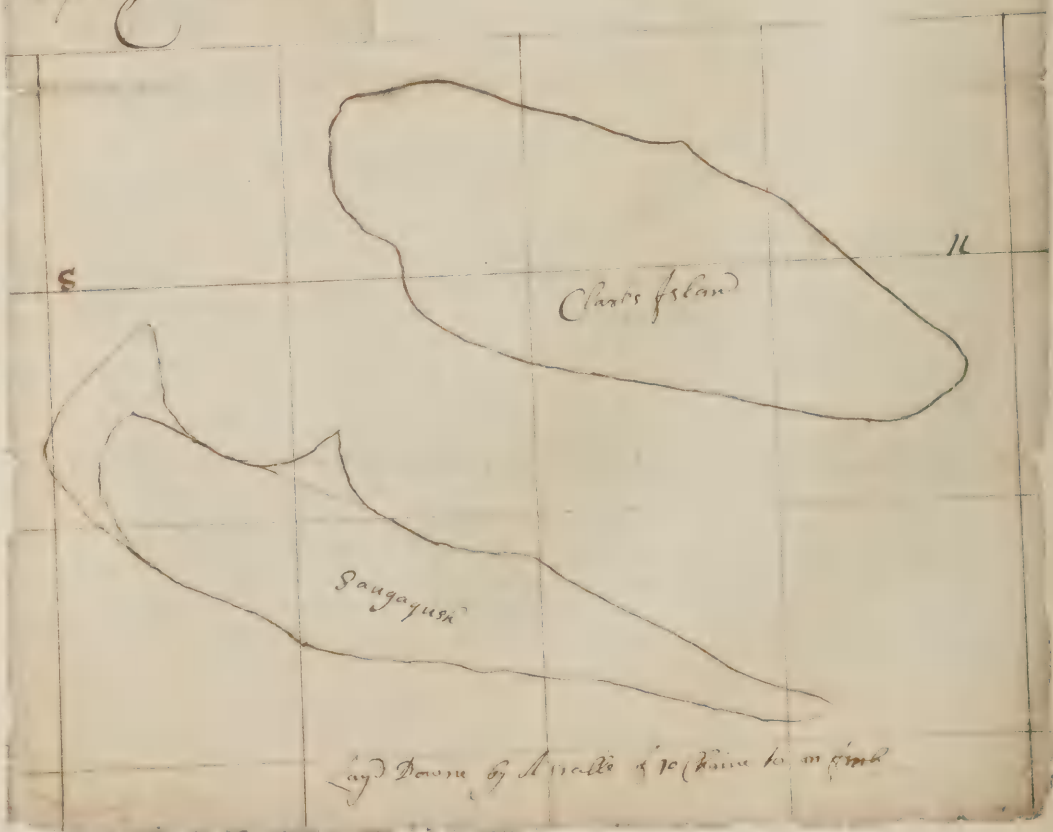
"It seems to me certain, therefore, that they either passed Manomet Point without seeing it in the mist of the storm, or else did not recognize it as one of the two points of the harbor. After this they broke their mast in three pieces and lost the sail, so that henceforth they must have relied wholly on their oars. If they went W. N. W. from Manomet Point, which was their natural course, they would just clear the eastern end of Brown's Island; and then they would strike the strong flood tide which Bradford mentions. The gale would carry them across the channel, where they would soon see two high points, the Gurnet and Saquish Head, connected by a low sandy beach, forming Saquish Cove. This is the 'cove full of breakers,' as it always is in a southeaster. There the pilot probably mistook the two high points for two islands; and not seeing the low beach between them, he thought the entrance to the harbor must be between the points. This mistake probably caused his exclamation that 'his eyes never saw that place before.' But he soon found that he was running into the breakers '*before ye winde*'; and they were saved only by the steersman. . . . Mourt's *Relation* gives some additional particulars. After escaping from the cove full of

By Vertew of a Warrant from his Excelency S^r Edmund Andros Knight Captaine Generall and Gouer^r in Cheife of his Majestyes Territory and Dominions New England bearing Date Boston the 23^th of feb^r 1687

Have surveied and Layd out for M^r Nathaniell Clarke A Certaine small Island being Knowne by the name of Clarks Island and is sitewat and lieng in new Plimoth Bay bearing from the meeting howse in plimoth north north East about three miles and is bounded Round with water and flatts and conteynes Eighty six Acres and A quarter and three Rod performed this 3^d day of March 1687

Phillip Welles surv^r

3^d March 1687
A Survey & Draught of Clarkes Island for M^r Nath^ll Clarke of Plymouth.



SURVEY OF CLARK'S ISLAND, PLYMOUTH, 1688.

were devided in their minds; some would keepe the boate for fear they might be amongst the Indians; others were so weake and could, they could not endure, but got a shore, and with much adoe

breakers, it says: 'We bare up for an Iland before us, and recovering of that Iland, being compassed about with many rocks, a darke night growing upon us, it pleased the Divine providence that we fell upon a piece of sandy ground, where our shallop did ride safe and secure all that night (?), and coming upon a strange Iland kept our watch all night upon that Iland.' The 'Iland' which they saw in the west as they left Saquish Cove was Saquish Head, which in thick weather would naturally be thought to be an island. This is 'compassed about with many rocks,' and they must have rowed hard to weather these; but after passing them, they came upon the low sandy shore of Western Point on Saquish, which they easily passed before the wind. On its northwest side they would have found 'sandy ground,' where they could rest in safety under the lee of the point. The words 'all that night' must be a mistake, as the next clause shows, which refers to Clark's Island. After resting from their exertions and finding that they were in no fit place to spend a stormy night, the point being quite low, they had an easy passage before the southeast wind to the south end of Clark's Island, passing which they were under the lee of high land on the west shore of the island, in perfect shelter from the storm. After spending Saturday and Sunday on the island, they went on to Plymouth Monday morning, when the tide was high at about nine o'clock. . . . I have always thought that the famous rock was not only or chiefly the landing-place of December 11 (21), but the pier which the whole company used while they were living on the ship before their house was finished. The real rock, which few have lately seen in its full length, is a boulder, about fifteen feet long and three feet wide, which lay with its point to the east, thus forming a convenient pier for boats to land during several hours of each tide. . . . The rock is authenticated as the Pilgrims' landing-place by the testimony of Elder Faunce, who about 1741, at the age of ninety-five, was carried in a chair to the rock, that he might pass down to posterity the testimony of Pilgrims whom he had personally known on this important matter. The venerable Deacon Ephraim Spooner, who died in Plymouth in 1818, was present as a boy on this interesting occasion."

From actual experience and experimentation on his part, Channing reached the conclusion that, in the absence of direct testimony, it is safe to point to no particular spot as that on which the first Pilgrim foot pressed the mainland inside of Plymouth Harbor.

Clark's Island belonged to the town of Plymouth. In 1641 the liberty to make salt and use the wood on the island for that purpose was granted to John Jenney, provided he sold good salt to the townsmen for two shillings a bushel; and in 1642 the town granted thirty acres "of the lands of Clarks Iland to the five [persons?] that make salt for twenty one yeares paying a bushell of salt yearely to Josuah Pratt dure-

got fire, (all things being so wett,) and the rest were glad to come to them; for after midnight the wind shifted to the [53] north-west, and it frose hard. But though this had been a day and night of much trouble and danger unto them, yet God gave them a *morning* of comforte and refreshing (as usually he doth to his children), for the next day was a faire sunshininge day, and they found them sellves to be on an iland secure from the Indeans, wher they might drie their stufe, fixe their peeces, and rest them selves, and gave God thanks for his mercies, in their manifould deliverances. And this being the *last day of the weeke*,[1] they prepared ther to keepe the *Sabath*. On *Munday*[2] they sounded the harbor, and founde it fitt

ing the said terme if it be demanded." Exactly what the lessees did with their concession cannot be learned, but at the end of twenty years, in 1662, the town resumed all its rights, the island "being now deserted and not Improved by any." The town in 1663 reserved the wood of Saquish, Gurnetts Nose and Clark's Island to the use of a minister, and John Smith, a boatman, and five years later, leave was given to Edward and Thomas Doty and Thomas Hewes to sett up a stage for fishing on the island, to take such wood as they might need for this purpose, and to keep sheep there, for a term of seven years. To this time no revenue to the town appears to have been derived from these various liberties; but in 1678 the island was leased to Richard Willis for seven years, at an annual rental of three pounds, but "any of the towne may fech what wood of the said Iland they pleas either for building fierwood or otherwise." Six months after the date of this action, Willis having died in the interval, the island was again leased for seven years to Edward Gray, he to assume all the conditions under the Willis agreement, but to pay a yearly rent of three pounds nine shillings to the town, and the sum of twenty shillings to Patience, relict of Richard Willis. This transaction proved no more profitable than the earlier, and in 1684 a committee was appointed to lease the island to the best advantage for the town. Before the committee had succeeded in accomplishing its purpose the island was granted by Sir Edmund Andros to Nathaniel Clark, a member of Andros's Council, and Secretary of the Colony. In defending its rights and claims the town fell so heavily in debt that in 1690 it was obliged to sell the island to John Watson. *Records of the Town of Plymouth*, I. 7, 13, 17, 53, 99, 156, 158, 172. 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VIII. 255, 258. The island was called Clark's Island because the master's mate, Clark, was the first to step upon it. Morton, *Memoriall*, *21.

[1] Saturday, December 9, 1620.

[2] Monday, December 11, 1620. "In 1620, December 11, O. S., corresponded to December 21, N. S. When the anniversary was instituted at Plymouth in 1769,

for shipping; and marched into the land, and found diverse corn-feilds, and litle runing brooks,[1] a place (as they supposed) fitt for situation; [2] at least it was the best they could find, and the season, and their presente necessitie, made them glad to accepte of it. So they returned to their shipp againe with this news to the rest of their people, which did much comforte their harts.

On the ·*15*· *of Desem*[*be*]*r:* [3] they wayed anchor to goe to the place they had discovered, and came within ·2· leagues of it, but were faine to bear up againe; but the ·*16*· *day* the winde came faire, and they arrived safe in this harbor.[4] And after wards tooke better view of the place, and resolved wher to pitch their dwelling; and the ·*25*· *day* [5] begane to erecte the first house for commone use to receive them and their goods.[6]

eleven days were added for difference in style, instead of *ten*, the true difference. The difference between old and new style then existing was incorrectly assumed in determining the day of celebration." Davis. See 2 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, xx. 237.

[1] See note on p. *21 of Mourt for the number of brooks running into the harbor. Mourt speaks of four or five brooks found on the eighteenth of December.

[2] Subsequent experiences caused the Pilgrims to doubt the wisdom of their choice of location. The decision reached, however, was held, even when subsequent explorations revealed reasons for removal to a more favorable locality — especially Massachusetts Bay.

[3] Friday.

[4] On Tuesday, the nineteenth, they came into their determination of settling on the mainland, where they had found a hill, cleared land, a good running brook of sweet water, and a fair harbor for shallops and boats. They desired a location that was defensible, commanding a view of the surrounding country and of the bay, and convenient for fishing, ever present in their minds as "our principall profit." A need of bringing wood a quarter of a mile would prove of minor importance if the forests were free of hostile natives, as they proved to be.

[5] Monday was the 25th. Unfavorable, if seasonable, weather, had delayed the erection of the building.

[6] Mourt is detailed in his account of what took place in the month after landing. (*22 *et seq.*) Writing some twenty months after the event, and doubtless depending upon notes or "diurnalls" made at the time, the writer adds some comments born of actual trial of the place. The authors of the *Relation* obviously had in mind the desire to create a favorable impression in the readers, primarily the Council for New

NOTE.

There are, among others, accounts of two visits to Plymouth harbor before the coming of the *Mayflower*, one by Martin Pring in 1603, and the other by Champlain in 1605. Pring commanded a small ship, the *Speedwell*, sent out by some merchants and inhabitants of Bristol to make a farther discovery of the northern part of Virginia. As Sir Walter Ralegh had "a most ample Patent" of all those parts from Queen Elizabeth, permission was first obtained from him, and sailing from Kingroad in March, the ship was detained at Milford Haven until after the death of the Queen. In June Pring fell in with a "multitude of islands" in 43° of latitude, and sailing to the southwest without finding any people, he turned to find the "Savage Rock" of Gosnold, where the desired sassafras could be obtained. The story is thus related in Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, IV. 1654:

"Departing hence we bare into that greate Gulfe which Captaine *Gosnold* ouer-shot the yeere before, coasting and finding people on the North side thereof. Not yet satisfied in our expectation, we left them and sailed ouer, and came to an Anchor on the South side in the latitude of 41. degrees and odde minutes: where we went on Land in a certaine Bay, which we called

England. The bay of Plymouth was "a most hopefull place," compassed with a goodly land, containing two well-wooded islands, and well stocked with fish and game. The soil was rich and the plant life abundant. Some advantages of this kind were needed to remove the bad impression raised by the accounts of actual suffering encountered by the settlers in their first year at New Plymouth, and by the complaining letters of such as had expected far easier conditions or a richer return in trading commodities. The harbor proved such that the *Mayflower* was obliged to lie off a mile and a half from the place selected for settlement. Mourt, *25.

The similarity of language used in describing the expedition in Bradford and in Mourt points to a common authorship.

Captain Smith describes Accomac as "a excellent harbor, good land; and no want of any thing, but industrious people." He had a somewhat serious affair with the natives, fought forty or fifty of them, killed some and wounded others, "yet within an houre after they became friendes." *Description of New England*, *45.

Smith claims that the mariners and sailors on these voyages found it their interest to conceal the miserable conditions of the colonists, for they "had alwayes both good fare, and good pay for the most part, and part out of our owne purses, never caring how long they stayed upon their voyage, daily feasting before our faces, when wee lived upon a little corne and water, and not half enough of that, the most of which we had from amongst the Salvages." *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters*, *6.

Whitson Bay, by the name of the Worshipfull Master *Iohn Whitson* then Maior of the Citie of *Bristoll*, and one of the chiefe Aduenturers, and finding a pleasant Hill thereunto adioyning, wee called it *Mount Aldworth*, for Master *Robert Aldworth's* sake a chiefe furtherer of the Voyage, as well with his Purse as with his trauell. Here we had sufficient quantitie of Sassafras.

"At our going on shore, vpon view of the people and sight of the place, wee thought it conuenient to make a small baricado to keepe diligent watch and ward in, for the aduertizement and succour of our men, while they should worke in the Woods.[1] During our abode on shore, the people of the Countrey came to our men sometimes ten, twentie, fortie or threescore, and at one time one hundred and twentie at once. We vsed them kindly, and gaue them diuers sorts of our meanest Merchandize. They did eat Pease and Beanes with our men. Their owne victuals were most of fish.

"We had a youth in our company that could play vpon a Gitterne, in whose homely Musicke they tooke great delight, and would giue him many things, as Tobacco, Tobacco-pipes, Snakes skinnes of sixe foot long, which they vse for Girdles, Fawnes skinnes, and such like, and danced twentie in a Ring, and the Gitterne in the middest of them, vsing many Sauage gestures, singing *Io*, *Ia*, *Io*, *Ia*, *Ia*, *Io;* him that first brake the ring, the rest would knocke and cry out vpon. Some few of them had plates of Brasse a foot long, and halfe a foote broad before their breasts. Their weapons are Bowes of fiue or sixe foot long of Witch-hasell, painted blacke and yellow, the strings of three twists of sinewes, bigger then our Bow-strings. Their Arrows are of a yard and an handfull long not made of Reeds, but of a fine light wood very smooth and round with three long and deepe black feathers of some Eagle, Vulture, or Kite, as closely fastened with some binding matter, as any Fletcher of ours can glue them on. Their Quiuers are full a yard long, made of long dried Rushes wrought about two handfuls broad aboue, and one handful beneath with prettie workes and compartiments, Diamant wise of red and other colours.

"We carried with vs from *Bristoll* two excellent Mastiues, of whom the *Indians* were more afraid, then of twentie of our men. One of these Mastiues would carrie a halfe Pike in his mouth. And one Master *Thomas Bridges* a Gentleman of our company accompanied only with one of these Dogs, and passed sixe miles alone in the Countrey hauing lost his fellowes, and returned safely. And when we would be rid of the Sauage's company wee would let loose the Mastiues, and suddenly with out-cryes they would flee

[1] See p. 169, *supra*.

away. These people in colour are inclined to a swart, tawnie, or Chestnut colour, not by nature but accidentally, and doe weare their haire brayded in foure parts, and trussed vp about their heads with a small knot behind: in which haire of theirs they sticke many feathers and toyes for brauerie and pleasure. They couer their priuities only with piece of leather drawne betwixt their twists and fastened to their Girdles behind and before: whereunto they hang their bags of Tobacco. They seeme to bee somewhat jealous of their women, for we saw not past two of them, who weare Aprons of Leather skins before them downe to the knees, and a Beares skinne like an *Irish* Mantle ouer one shoulder. The men are of stature somewhat taller then our ordinary people, strong, swift, well proportioned, and giuen to treacherie, as in the end we perceiued.

"Their Boats, whereof we brought one to *Bristoll*, were in proportion like a Wherrie of the Riuer of *Thames*, seuenteene foot long and foure foot broad, made of the Barke of a Birch-tree, farre exceeding in bignesse those of *England:* it was sowed together with strong and tough Oziers or twigs, and the seames couered ouer with Rozen or Turpentine little inferiour in sweetnesse to Frankincense, as we made triall by burning a little thereof on the coales at sundry times after our comming home: it was also open like a Wherrie, and sharpe at both ends, sauing that the beake was a little bending roundly vpward. And though it carried nine men standing vpright, yet it weighed not at the most aboue sixtie pounds in weight, a thing almost incredible in regard of the largenesse and capacitie thereof. Their Oares were flat at the end like an Ouen peele, made of Ash or Maple very light and strong, about two yards long, wherewith they row very swiftly: Passing vp a Riuer we saw certaine Cottages together, abandoned by the Sauages, and not farre off we beheld their Gardens and one among the rest of an Acre of ground, and in the same was sowne Tobacco, Pompions, Cowcumbers and such like; and some of the people had Maiz or *Indian* Wheate among them. In the fields we found wild Pease, Strawberries very faire and bigge, Goose-berries, Raspices, Hurts and other wild fruits.

"Hauing spent three Weekes vpon the Coast before we came to this place where we meant to stay and take in our lading, according to our instructions giuen vs in charge before our setting forth, we pared and digged vp the Earth with shouels, and sowed Wheate, Barley, Oates, Pease, and sundry sorts of Garden Seeds, which for the time of our abode there, being about seuen Weeks, although they were late sowne, came vp very well, giuing certain testimonie of the goodnesse of the Climate and of the Soyle. And it seemeth



PRING'S HARBOR (NEW PLYMOUTH), 1603

that Oade, Hempe, Flaxe, Rape-seed and such like which require a rich and fat ground, would prosper excellently in these parts. For in diuers places here we found grasse aboue knee deepe.

"As for Trees the Country yeeldeth Sassafras a plant of souereigne vertue for the *French* Poxe, and as some of late haue learnedly written good against the Plague and many other Maladies; Vines, Cedars, Okes, Ashes, Beeches, Birch trees, Cherie trees bearing fruit whereof wee did eate, Hasels, Wichhasels, the best wood of all other to make Sope-ashes withall, Walnut-trees, Maples, holy to make Bird-lime with, and a kinde of tree bearing a fruit like a small red Peare-plum with a crowne or knop on the top (a plant whereof carefully wrapped vp in earth, Master *Robert Salterne* brought to Bristoll). We found also low trees bearing faire Cheries. There were likewise a white kind of Plums which were not growne to their perfect ripenesse. With diuers other sorts of trees to vs unknowne.

"The Beasts here are Stags, fallow Deere in abundance, Beares, Wolues, Foxes, Lusernes, and (some say) Tygres, Porcupines, and Dogges with sharpe and long noses, with many other sorts of wild beasts, whose Cases and Furres being hereafter purchased by exchange may yeeld no smal gaine to vs. Since as we are certainly informed, the *Frenchmen* brought from *Canada* the value of thirtie thousand Crownes in the yeere 1604, almost in Beuers and Otters skinnes only. The most vsuall Fowles are Eagles, Vultures, Hawkes, Cranes, Herons, Crowes, Gulls, and great store of other Riuer and Seafowles. And as the Land is full of God's good blessings, so is the Sea replenished with great abundance of excellent fish, as Cods sufficient to lade many ships, which we found vpon the Coast in the moneth of Iune, Seales to make Oile withall, Mullets, Turbuts, Mackerels, Herrings, Crabs, Lobsters, Creuises, and Muscles with ragged Pearles in them.

"By the end of Iuly we had laded our small Barke called the Discouerer, with as much Sassafras as we thought sufficient, and sent her home into *England* before, to giue some speedie contentment to the Aduenturers: who arriued safely in *Kingrode* aboue a fortnight before vs. After their departure we so bestirred our selues, that our shippe also had gotten in her lading, during which time there fell out this accident. On a day about noone tide while our men which vsed to cut downe Sassafras in the Woods were asleepe, as they vsed to doe for two houres in the heat of the day, there came downe about seuen score Sauages armed with their Bowes and Arrowes, and enuironed our House or Barricado, wherein were foure of our men alone with their Muskets to keepe Centinell, whom they sought to haue come downe vnto them, which



CHAMPLAIN'S PORT DU CAP ST. LOUIS (NEW PLYMOUTH), 1605

they vtterly refused, and stood vpon their guard. Our Master likewise being very carefull and circumspect hauing not past two with him in the shippe put the same in the best defence he could, lest they should haue inuaded the same, and caused a piece of great Ordnance to bee shot off, to giue terrour to the *Indians*, and warning to our men which were fast asleepe in the Woods: at the noyse of which Peece they were a little awaked, and beganne a little to call for *Foole* and *Gallant*, their great and fearefull Mastiues, and full quietly laid themselues downe againe, but beeing quickned vp eftsoones againe with a second shot they rowsed vp themselues, betooke them to their weapons and with their Mastiues, great *Foole* with an halfe Pike in his mouth drew downe to their ship: whom when the *Indians* beheld afarre off, with the Mastiue which they most feared, in dissembling manner they turned all to a iest and sport, and departed away in friendly manner: yet not long after, euen the day before our departure, they set fire on the Woods where wee wrought, which wee did behold to burne for a mile space, and the very same day that wee weighed Anchor, they came downe to the shoare in greater number, to wit, very neere two hundred by our estimation, and some of them came in their Boates to our ship, and would haue had vs come in again: but we sent them backe, and would none of their entertainment.

"About the eighth or ninth of August wee left this excellent Hauen at the entrance whereof we found twentie fathomes water, and rode at our ease in seuen fathomes being Land-locked, the Hauen winding in compasse like the shell of a Snaile, and it is in latitude of one and forty degrees and fiue and twentie minutes."

It was on July 19, 1605, that Champlain doubled Cape St. Louis [Brant Point] and sailing for two leagues along a sandy coast, where he saw a great many cabins and gardens, he entered a little bay intending to await a time favorable to proceeding. Champlain thus describes the visit to Port du Cap St. Louis, that is to Plymouth harbor.

"There came to us two or three canoes, which had just been fishing for cod and other fish, which are found there in large numbers. These they catch with hooks made of a piece of wood, to which they attach a bone in the shape of a spear and fasten it very securely. The whole has a fang-shape, and the line attached to it is made out of the bark of a tree. They gave me one of their hooks, which I took as a curiosity. In it the bone was fastened on by hemp, like that in France, as it seemed to me, and they told me that they gathered this plant without being obliged to cultivate it ; and indicated that it grew to the height of four or five feet. This canoe went back on shore

to give notice to their fellow inhabitants, who caused columns of smoke to arise on our account. We saw eighteen or twenty savages, who came to the shore and began to dance. Our canoe landed in order to give them some bagatelles, at which they were greatly pleased. Some of them came to us and begged us to go to their river. We weighed anchor to do so, but were unable to enter on account of the small amount of water, it being low tide, and were accordingly obliged to anchor at the mouth. I went ashore, where I saw many others, who received us very cordially. I made also an examination of the river, but saw only an arm of water extending a short distance inland, where the land is only in part cleared up. Running into this is merely a brook not deep enough for boats except at full tide. The circuit of the bay is about a league. On one side of the entrance to this bay there is a point which is almost an island, covered with wood, principally pines, and adjoins sand-banks, which are very extensive. On the other side, the land is high. There are two islets in this bay, which are not seen until one has entered, and around which it is almost entirely dry at low tide. This place is very conspicuous from the sea, for the coast is very low, excepting the cape at the entrance to the bay. We named it the Port du Cap St. Louis, distant two leagues from the above cape, and ten from the Island Cape. It is in about the same latitude as Cap St. Louis." Champlain, *Voyages* (Prince Society), II. 77.

The ·2· Booke

The rest of this history (if God give me life, and opportunitie) I shall, for brevitis sake, handle by way of annalls, noteing only the heads of principall things, and passages as they fell in order of time, and may seeme to be profitable to know, or to make use of. And this may be as the ·2· Booke.



SMITH'S MAP OF NEW ENGLAND.

The ·2· Booke

The remainder of Anno 1620.

I SHALL a litle returne backe and begine with a combination made by them before they came a shore, being the first foundation of their govermente in this place; occasioned partly by the discontented and mutinous speeches that some of the strangers amongst them had let fall from them in the ship; That when they came a shore they would use their owne libertie; for none had power to command them, the patente they had being for Virginia, and not for New england, which belonged to an other Goverment, with which the Virginia Company had nothing to doe.[1] And partly

[1] In permitting "particular plantations" the Virginia Company recognized in such bodies a certain independence of their regulations and a freedom of action. In February, 1619–20, the Company passed the following important order: "Itt was ordered allso by generall Consent that such Captaines or leaders of Perticulerr Plantac̃ons that shall goe there to inhabite by vertue of their Graunts and Plant themselvs their Tennantes and Servantes in Virginia, shall have liberty till a forme of Gouerment be here settled for them, Associatinge vnto them divers of the gravest and discreetes of their Companies, to make Orders, Ordinances and Constituc̃ons for the better orderinge and dyrectinge of their Servants and buisines Prouided they be not Repugnant to the Lawes of England." *Records of the Virginia Company*, I. 303. This order was passed on the very day that the patent to John Peirce and associates was "allowed and Sealed in veiwe of the Courte with a Totall approbac̃on." Those who acted under that patent would thus be possessed of certain powers of framing rules or orders for their own governance, certain powers of local legislation. The "compact" only recognizes this authority. Higher than any power derived from letters patent or even company charter was the right of an English subject. "Go where he would, so long as he settled on land claimed by England and acknowledged allegiance to the English crown, the Englishman carried with him as much of the Common Law of England as was applicable to his situation and was not repugnant to his other rights and privileges." The colonist in Virginia and in New Plymouth was guaranteed the possession and enjoyment of all liberties, franchises, and immunities he would have

that shuch an [54] acte by them done (this their condition considered) might be as firme as any patent, and in some respects more sure.[1]

held had he been born and abiding in England itself. Channing, *History of the United States*, I. 161, 162, 174. Hubbard, *History*, 62, foreshadowed this view by concluding that the laws of England would be recognized, so far as they could apply.

"In all this there was nothing new. The election of administrative functionaries took place in every borough town in England. What was really new was that whilst in England each corporation was exposed to the action of the other forces of the social system, in America the new corporation was practically left to itself. It was as if Exeter or York had drifted away from the rest of England, and had been left to its own resources on the other side of the Atlantic. The accident which had deprived the colony for a time of all legal connexion with the Home Government, was only a foreshadowing of its future fortunes. Sooner or later the colonies would have a social and political history of their own, which would not be a repetition of the social and political history of England." Gardiner, *History of England*, 1603–1642, IV. 163.

[1] One mention of the existence of the original compact is to be found in the early records or history of the settlement. In fact, it was a temporary measure, and was superseded by the patent granted to Peirce and associates. Morton's introductory paragraph to the compact (*14) differs materially in form and spirit from that of Bradford, whom he generally closely follows. A part of the difference arises from his wish to introduce the alleged fraud perpetrated on the Pilgrims by the Dutch, and to do this he sets aside the reason assigned by Bradford for entering into the agreement. A few verbal differences in the text of the compact are also to be noted in Morton, but they are not such as would indicate that he had the original paper before him, and there is always the possibility of typographical errors in proof-reading. It is also strange that Roger Williams when the dangers surrounding his newly established settlement at New Providence "now especially, call vpon vs to be compact in a civill way and power," did not recall and revert to this earlier compact of the Pilgrims. In the form proposed by Williams, and on which he desired the opinion of John Winthrop, the masters of families at New Providence "doe with free and ioynt consent promise each vnto other, that, for our common peace and wellfare (vntill we heare further of the Kings royall pleasure concerning our selues) we will from time to time subiect our selues in actiue or passiue obedience to such orders and agreements, as shall be made by the greater number of the present howseholders, and such as shall be hereafter admitted by their consent into the same priviledge and covenant in our ordinarie meeting. In witnes whereof we herevnto subscribe, etc." 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VI. 187.

The forme was as followeth.

In the name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwriten, the loyall subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britaine, Franc, and Ireland king, defender of the faith, etc.

Haveing undertaken, for the glorie of God, and advancemente of the Christian faith, and honour [1] of our king and countrie, a voyage to plant the first colonie in the Northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly and mutualy in the presence of God, and one of another,[2] covenant and combine our selves togeather into a civill body politick, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by vertue hearof to enacte, constitute, and frame shuch just and equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices,[3] from time to time, as shall be thought most meete and convenient for the generall good of the Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witnes wherof we have hereunder [4] subscribed our names at Cap-Codd the ·11· of November, in the year of the raigne [5] of our soveraigne lord, King James, of England, France, and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fiftie fourth. Anno Dom. 1620.[6]

[1] "The Honour." *Morton.*
[2] "And one another." *Morton.*
[3] "Officers." *Morton.*
[4] "Hereunto." *Morton.*
[5] Morton omits "the year of."
[6] "Bradford gives no list here of the signers of this compact. Morton [*Memoriall*, *15] must have had some other authority than this History for the names he has appended to it in the Memorial, or else he supplied them by conjecture from Bradford's list of passengers in the Appendix. If we may suppose this compact to have been signed by all the adult male passengers, it would seem that other names besides those Morton has given should have been included." DEANE.

Morton follows quite closely the order of names given in Bradford's list, which in itself offers a fair argument for his having copied from Bradford and not from the original sheet on which the compact had been written and signed. A few variations may be laid to errors in copying or in printing. As to names in the Bradford list which are not to be found in that of Morton, they represent servants who may have been under age or closely bound by articles of indenture, and members of families whose head had already signed.

After this they chose, or rather confirmed,[1] Mr. John Carver (a man godly and well approved amongst them) their Governour for that year. And after they had provided a place for their goods, or comone store, (which were long in unlading for want of boats, foulnes of the winter weather, and sicknes of diverce,) and begune some small cottages for their habitation, as time would admitte, they mette and consulted of lawes and orders, both for their civill and military Govermente, as the necessitie of their condition did require, still adding therunto as urgent occasion in severall times, and as cases did require.[2]

In these hard and difficulte beginings[3] they found some dis-

[1] Some confusion has arisen from the insertion of this phrase. Deane believes that it "may possibly be an inadvertence, and may have been intended to apply to his re-election" in 1621. *Note in his edition of Bradford*, 99. It is also possible that Carver was "governor" on the *Speedwell*, as Martin was on the *Mayflower*, a place due to him as one of the purchasing agents. See p. 136, *supra*.

[2] Of these earliest laws and orders no formal record exists, and Bradford makes only passing reference to them from time to time. The first order of record is that of December 17, 1623, when it was ordained that "all Criminall facts, and also all [matters] of trespasses and debts betweene man and man should [be tried] by the verdict of twelve Honest men to be Impanelled by Authority in forme of a Jury upon their oaths." Nothing follows until 1626. *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, XI. 1. John Cowell (Dr. Cowheel, as Coke with intent called him), issued in 1607 *The Interpreter*, and, because of his strong expressions in favor of absolute monarchy, called down upon it the displeasure of King and Commons. He distinguishes the three forms of trial in England, one by Parliament, another by battle, and the third by assize or jury. "The triall by Assise (be the action ciuile or criminall, publick or priuate, personall or reall) is referred for the fact to a Iurie, and as they finde it, so passeth the Iudgement, and the great fauour that by this the King sheweth to his subiects more then the princes of other nations, you may reade in *Glanuil*," etc. The grand jury, for the consideration of weightier causes, consisted of twenty-four persons; the petit jury required only twelve, but had cognizance of criminal as well as of civil causes. For obvious reasons, the settlement of New Plymouth would not require a grand jury in 1623.

[3] Captain John Smith twice speaks of the sufferings endured by the Pilgrims in these weeks, and lays them to their obstinacy in not having employed him as a guide. "Nothing would be done for a Plantation till about some hundred of your Brownists of England Amsterdam and Leyden, went to New Plymouth: whose humorous ignorances caused them for more than a year, to endure a wonderful deal of misery with an

contents and murmurings arise amongst some, and mutinous speeches and carriages in other; but they were soone quelled and overcome by the wisdome, patience, and just and equall carrage of things by the Gov[erno]r and better part, which clave faithfully togeather in the maine. But that which was most sadd and lamentable was, that in ·2· or ·3· moneths time halfe of their company dyed, espetialy in Jan: and February, being the depth of winter, and wanting houses and other comforts;[1] being infected

infinite patience; saying My Books and Maps were much better cheap to teach them than myself. Many others have used the like good husbandry; that have paid soundly in trying their self-willed conclusions." *The True Travels*, 46. "At last, upon those inducements, some well disposed Brownists, as they are tearmed, with some Gentlemen and Merchants of Layden and Amsterdam, to save charges, would try their owne conclusions, though with great losse and much miserie, till time had taught them to see their owne error: for such humorists will never beleeve well, till they bee beaten with their owne rod. . . . Yet at the first landing at Cape Cod, being an hundred passengers, besides twenty they had left behind at Plimoth; for want of good take heed, thinking to finde all things better than I advised them, spent six or seven weekes in wandering up and downe, in frost and snow, wind and raine, among the woods, cricks and swamps, forty of them died, and threescore were left in most miserable estate at New-Plimoth." *Advertisements*, *17, 18. "Now since them called Brownists went, some few before them also having my bookes and maps, presumed they knew as much as they desired, many other directers they had as wise as themselves, but that was best that liked their owne conceits; for indeed they would not be knowne to have any knowledge of any but themselves, pretending onely Religion their governour, and frugality their counsell, when indeed it was onely their pride, and singularity, and contempt of authority; because they could not be equals, they would have no superiours; in this fooles Paradise, they so long used that good husbandry, they have payed soundly in trying their owne follies, who undertaking in small handfuls to make many plantations, and to bee severall Lords and Kings of themselves, most vanished to nothing, to the great disparagement of the generall businesse." *Ib.* 21.

"It is observed by the *Indians* that every tenth yeare there is little or no Winter, which hath been twice observed of the *English;* the yeare of new Plimouth mens arrivall was no Winter in comparison; . . . and where as many died at the beginning of the plantations, it was not because the Country was unhealthfull, but because their bodies were corrupted with sea-diet." Wood, *New Englands Prospect*, *4.

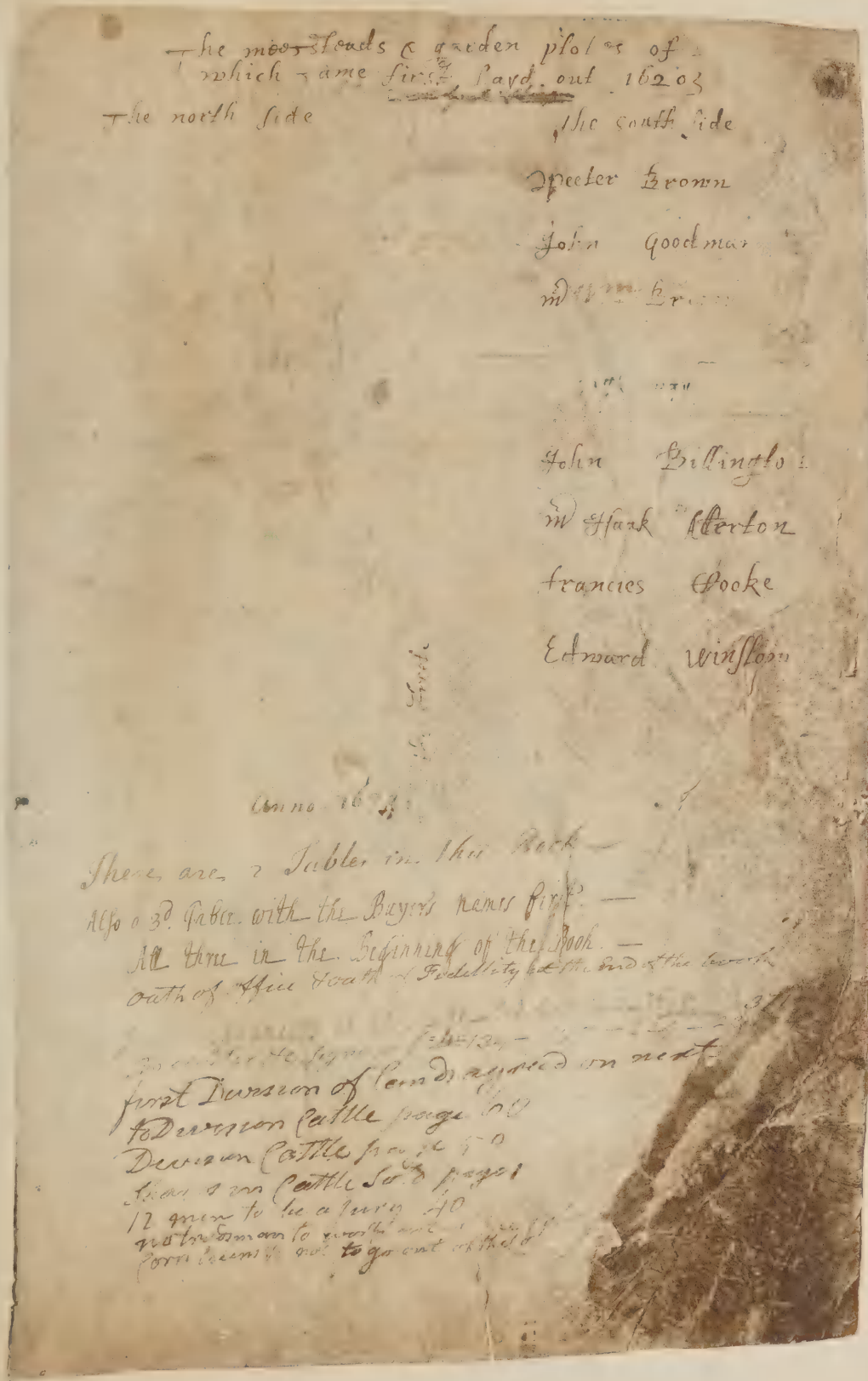
[1] Before January 1, 1620–21, they had marked out the position for a platform on which to place their ordnance, and for two rows of houses and a fair street. To reduce the number of houses to be built the settlers were classed in nineteen families, and land

with the scurvie[1] and [55] other diseases, which this long voiage and their inacomodate condition had brought upon them; so as ther dyed some times ·2· or ·3· of a day, in the aforesaid time; that of ·100· and odd persons, scarce ·50· remained.[2] And of these in the time of most distres, ther was but ·6· or ·7· sound persons, who, to their great comendations be it spoken, spared no pains, night nor day, but with abundance of toyle and hazard of their owne health, fetched them woode, made them fires, drest them meat, made their beads, washed their lothsome cloaths, cloathed

for a shelter was assigned to each family. The allotment was made on the north and south sides of what is now Leyden Street, and in the first volume of the Plymouth "Records of Deeds" Bradford's rough sketch of the street is given, with the names of seven families whose lots fell on the south side of the street. Each person was allowed a space of half a pole in breadth and three poles in length, or about four hundred and eight and one third square feet. As they intended to impale round the area thus taken for settlement, and many of the settlers were ill through exposure and deprivations, it became an object to keep the extent within as narrow bounds as possible. The common house, about twenty feet square was almost completed by January 9, when it was determined that each family should build its own house, this course tending to hasten construction.

[1] Scurvy or Scorbute, arose from exposure and a too exclusive diet of salted foods. Champlain gives a detailed account of it in his Voyage of 1604, II. 50 (Prince Society). Of his party of seventy-nine, thirty-five died, and more than twenty were at the point of death. He called it *mal de la terre*, and knew of no remedy. Sir Richard Hawkins states that ten thousand Englishmen had died of it in twenty years. He gives the symptoms and some remedies. Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, IV. 1373. Extreme cold very frequently develops the first manifestations of a scorbutic taint.

[2] "The bill of mortality, as collected by Prince, from Bradford's pocket-book [now lost], is as follows. There died in December, 6; in January, 8; in February, 17; in March, 13; total, *forty-four*. According to Smith, before the arrival of the *Fortune*, November 9th, six more were added to the list, which would include Carver and his wife, making the number of deaths *fifty*." DEANE. The fearful cost in human lives of these early English plantations in America is well shown by Channing, *History of the United States*, I. 204, 205. In brief the figures prove that of 5649 emigrants leaving England for Virginia in the period 1606–1625, only 1095 colonists were living in Virginia in 1625. In the twelve months 1622–1623, "347 persons perished in the Indian massacre, and nearly 1000 died of disease or starvation on the way to Virginia or in the colony."



MEERSTEADS AND GARDEN PLOTS, NEW PLYMOUTH. 1620.



MAP OF PLYMOUTH HARBOR

and uncloathed them; in a word, did all the homly and necessarie offices for them which dainty and quesie stomacks cannot endure to hear named; and all this willingly and cherfully, without any grudging in the least, shewing herein their true love unto their freinds and bretheren. A rare example and worthy to be remembred.[1] Tow of these ·7· were Mr. William Brewster, ther reverend Elder, and Myles Standish, ther Captein and military comander, unto whom my selfe,[2] and many others, were much beholden in our low and sicke condition. And yet the Lord so upheld these persons, as in this generall calamity they were not at all infected either with sicknes, or lamnes. And what I have said of these, I may say of many others who dyed in this generall visitation, and others yet living, that whilst they had health, yea, or any strength continuing, they were not wanting to any that had need of them. And I doute not but their recompence is with the Lord.

But I may not hear pass by an other remarkable passage not to be forgotten. As this calamitie fell among the passengers that were to be left here to plant, and were hasted a shore and made to drinke water, that the sea-men might have the more bear, and one [3] in his sicknes desiring but a small cann of beere,[4] it was answered, that if he were their owne father he should have none; the disease begane to fall amongst them also, so as allmost halfe of their company dyed before they went away, and many of their

[1] Rememmembred in MS.

[2] Bradford, on Thursday, January 11, was "vehemently taken with a griefe and paine, and so shot to his huckle-bone [hip-bone]." He had not recovered his strength by April, when he was chosen governor.

[3] Which was this auther him selfe. — BRADFORD.

[4] On Christmas Day they began to drink water aboard the *Mayflower*, but "at night the Master caused vs to haue some Beere, and so on boord we had diverse times now and then some Beere, but on shore none at all." Mourt, *24. According to Wood, the ship-provisions allowed to the passenger for his passage money were, "Salt Beefe, Porke, salt Fish, Butter, Cheese, Pease, Pottage, Water-grewell, and such kinde of Victuals, with good Biskets, and sixe-shilling Beere." *New Englands Prospect*, *42.

officers and lustyest men, as the boatson, gunner, ·3· quartermaisters, the cooke, and others. At which the m[aste]r was something strucken and sent to the sick a shore and tould the Gov[erno]r he should send for beer for them that had need of it, though



ALGONQUIN INDIANS, BY CHAMPLAIN

he drunke water homward bound. But now amongst his company [56] ther was farr another kind of carriage in this miserie then amongst the passengers; for they that before had been boone companions in drinking and joyllity in the time of their health and wellfare, begane now to deserte one another in this calamitie saing,

they would not hasard ther lives for them, they should be infected by coming to help them in their cabins, and so, after they came to lye by it, would doe litle or nothing for them, but if they dyed let them dye.[1] But shuch of the passengers as were yet abord shewed them what mercy they could, which made some of their harts relente, as the boatson (and some others), who was a prowd yonge man, and would often curse and scofe at the passengers; but when he grew weak, they had compasion on him, and helped him; then he confessed he did not deserve it at their hands, he had abused them in word and deed. O! saith he, you, I now see, shew your love like Christians indeed one to another, but we let one another lye and dye like doggs. Another lay cursing his wife, saing if it had not ben for her he had never come this unlucky viage, and anone cursing his felows, saing he had done this and that, for some of them, he had spente so much, and so much, amongst them, and they were now weary of him, and did not help him, having need. Another gave his companion all he had, if he died, to help him in his weaknes; he went and got a litle spise and made him a mess of meat once or twise, and because he dyed not so soone as he expected, he went amongst his fellows, and swore the rogue would cousen him, he would see him chooked before he made him any more meate; and yet the pore fellow dyed before morning.

All this while the Indians came skulking about them, and would sometimes show them selves aloofe of, but when any aproached near them, they would rune away. And once they stoale away their tools wher they had been at worke, and were gone to diner.[2] But

[1] "Great care would be had they pester not their ships too much with cattell nor passengers, and to make good conditions for your peoples diet, for therein is used much ledgerdemaine, therefore in that you cannot be too carefull to keepe your men well, and in health at Sea: in this case some masters are very provident, but the most part so they can get fraught enough, care not much whether the passengers live or die, for a common sailer regards not a landman, especially a poore passenger, as I have seene too oft approved by lamentable experience, although we have victualled them all at our owne charges." Smith, *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters*, *28.

[2] Mourt, *31. This occurred a full month before the visit of Samoset, and led to the

about the ·*16*· *of March* a certaine Indian came bouldly amongst them, and spoke to them in broken English, which they could well understand, but marvelled at it. At length they understood by discourse with him, that he was not of these parts, but belonged to the eastrene parts, wher some English-ships came to fhish, with whom he was aquainted, and could name sundrie of them by their names, amongst whom he had gott his language.[1] He became prof[i]table to them [57] in aquainting them with many things concerning the state of the cuntry in the east-parts wher he lived, which was afterwards profitable unto them; as also of the people hear, of their names, number, and strength; of their situation and distance from this place, and who was cheefe amongst them. His name was *Samasett;* he tould them also of another Indian whose name was *Squanto*, a native of this place, who had been in England and could speake better English then him selfe. Being, after some time of entertainmente and gifts, dismist,[2] a while after he came

placing of the few pieces of ordnance — five in all — intended for the defense of the platform, and to establishing of military orders, with Miles Standish as captain.

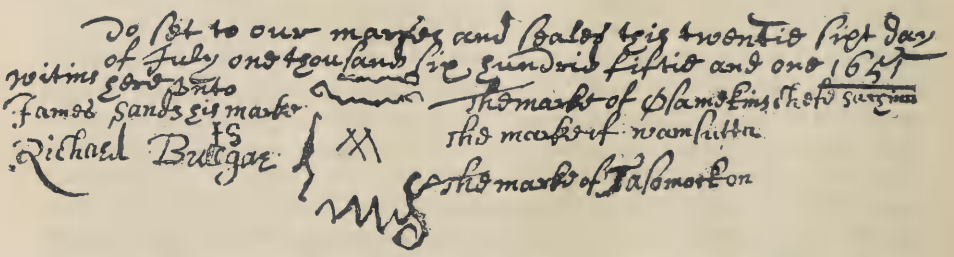
[1] Samoset came from Morattiggon, supposed to be Monhegan Island, described in Mourt as "lying hence a dayes sayle with a great wind, and fiue dayes by land." Christopher Levett met him in 1623–24, and speaks of him as "one that hath ben found very faithfull to the English, and hath saued the lives of many of our Nation, some from starving, others from killing." *Voyage into New England* (Gorges Society), 102. He is identified as the Captain John Somerset mentioned in a deed of July 15, 1625, and in many ways connected with the territory near Pemaquid. An interesting note on Samoset and Somerset or Muscongus Island, by Albert Matthews is in *Col. Soc. of Mass. Publications*, VI. 59. Mourt describes him as speaking broken English, but free in speech so far as he could express his mind, and of a seemly carriage. Though not of that region, he gave information that proved very serviceable to the Pilgrims in their future, for they learned of Monhegan, the frequenting of that island by fishing vessels from Europe, and its short distance from New Plymouth. In 1622 the shallop went to that part in search of corn, and with good result (*infra*, p. 274).

[2] Samoset passed this night in the house of Stephen Hopkins, the plan of sending him to the ship being defeated by a high wind and low water. Mourt, *33, says, the next day he went back to the "Massasoits." It is possible that some of Massasoit's men may have been skulking in the neighborhood of the settlement, and that to them Samoset returned; or that some of the Massachusetts Indians were thus lurking,

againe, and ·5· more with him, and they brought againe all the tooles that were stolen away before, and made way for the coming of their great Sachem, called *Massasoyt;*[1] who, about ·4· *or* ·5·

and were induced to return with Samoset with a few beaver skins. It is hardly likely that Indians from a distance, in midwinter, and in the presence of a possible enemy, should be equipped for trade. The principal dwelling place of Massasoit was forty miles distant, and the bay on which the Massachusetts Indians lived was about equally removed. As Samoset was dismissed on Saturday morning and returned the following day, he could not have covered the eighty miles. Nor is it likely that Massasoit, were he in the woods near New Plymouth, would have delayed his visit to the English for four days after having tested their friendliness by Samoset. The five who accompanied Samoset on his second visit may have been Massachusetts Indians, and in the mean time a messenger had been sent to notify Massasoit of the Pilgrims. He came to the English on Thursday, March 22.

[1] Massasoit appears in contemporary writings under a bewildering multiplicity of forms. Prince (I. *101 *n*) writes that he found "the ancient People from their Fathers in Plymouth Colony pronounce his Name *Ma-sas-so-it*," and this evidence is conclusive. Bicknell states (*Sowams*, 12) that his true or tribal name was Ousamequin, meaning "yellow feather" (*ousa*, yellow, and *mequin*, feather), and that Massasoit means "the great sachem." Others believe that about 1632, when making war upon the Narragansetts, he changed his name to Ousamequin (the variants



SIGNATURES OF OUSAMEQUIN AND HIS SON, WAMSUTTA

are many, but may be recognized as attempts at representing the sound of the name). He lived until 1662, maintaining friendship with the English until his death, and exercising a wholesome influence over the Indians under his authority. That he was a warrior, his preëminence indicates; but little is known of his history or of his wars, and his reputation stands deservedly high in New England history. His position as chief, one of the few to whom the rest resort for protection, and pay homage unto, is freely conceded by Winslow, *Good Newes from New England*, *56. His character was strongly vouched for by Hobbamock, a Wampanoag, and therefore one of Massa-

days after, came with the cheefe of his freinds and other attendance, with the aforesaid *Squanto*. With whom, after frendly entertainment, and some gifts given him, they made a peace with him (which hath now continued this ·24· years) in these terms.[1]

·1· That neither he nor any of his, should injurie or doe hurte to any of their peopl[e].

soit's subjects. When Tisquantum, in 1622, sought to gain greater influence with the English by casting doubt on Massasoit's faithfulness to his treaty, it was Hobbamock who said "flatly that it was false," and assured Bradford of the Indian chief's good carriage. And again in 1623, when on his way to visit the sick sachem, Hobbamock told Winslow that he would never see his like again amongst the Indians, saying, "he was no liar, he was not bloody and cruel, like other Indians; in anger and passion he was soon reclaimed; easy to be reconciled toward such as had offended him; ruled by reason in such measure as he would not scorn the advice of mean men; and that he governed his men better with few strokes, than others did with many; truly loving where he loved; yea, he feared we had not a faithful friend left among the Indians; showing how he oft times restrained their malice, etc., continuing a long speech, with such signs of lamentation and unfeigned sorrow, as would have made the hardest heart relent." Winslow, *Good Newes*, *7, 27.

[1] "An abstract of this treaty is also in Mourt's *Relation*. The two copies vary in the third and sixth articles. In the third article, in Mourt, the security to the English has reference merely to their *tools*, that they should be restored if taken away by the Indians; and the sixth article is made reciprocal by the addition of the following: 'as we should do our pieces when we come to them.' There is an additional clause in Mourt, which, however, can hardly be considered one of the articles to the treaty, viz: 'Lastly, that doing thus, King James would esteem of him as his friend and ally.'" Deane. Morton copied from Mourt. The phrasing of this last condition may well mark the first stage towards becoming "loyal subjects" of King James, as did the nine signatories to the writing of September 13, 1621. In June, 1621, Massasoit acknowledged to Winslow that "he also was King James his man." Mourt, *45. In the renewal of the league in 1639, it is expressly stated that Ussamequin [Massasoit] had acknowledged himself "subject to the King of England," in the earlier confederacy.

In the paper entered upon the *Plymouth Colony Records*, xi. 20, the league with Massasoit is mentioned, who "freely gaue them all the lands adjacent, to them and their heires for ever, acknowledging himselfe content to become the subject of our Soveraigne Lord the King aforesaid his heires and Successors." Although the planters believed themselves to be the first colony in New England, and looked upon the land as "void of Inhabitants," they obtained an additional right from the neighboring Sachem. That neither Bradford nor Mourt refer to this transaction in land is to be noted.

·2· That if any of his did any hurte to any of theirs, he should send the offender, that they might punish him.

·3· That if any thing were taken away from any of theirs, he should cause it to be restored; and they should doe the like to his.

·4· If any did unjustly warr against him, they would aide him; if any did warr against them, he should aide them.

·5· He should send to his neighbours confederates, to certifie them of this, that they might not wrong them, but might be likewise comprised in the conditions of peace.

·6· That when ther men came to them, they should leave their bows and arrows behind them.[1]

After these things he returned to his place caled *Sowams*,[2] some ·40· *mile* from this place, but *Squanto* continued with them, and was their interpreter, and was a spetiall instrument sent of God for their good beyond their expectation.[3] He directed them how to set

[1] This treaty was renewed by Ousamequin [Massasoit] and his son, Mooanam [Wamsutta, or Alexander], in 1639, with certain additions to the terms, one of them being that "hee or they shall not give, sell, or convey away any of his or their lands, territories, or possessions whatsoeuer, to any person or persons whomsoeuer, without the priuitie and consent of this gouerment, other then to such as this gouerment shall send and appoint." *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, I. 133.

The peace lasted during the life of Massasoit and during the times of his two sons who succeeded him, until the termination of the war, known by the name of the younger, that of Philip, in 1675.

[2] The town of Barrington, Rhode Island, occupies the place once known as Sowams or Sowamset. The question is fully discussed in Bicknell, *Sowams*, 151, while the claim for Warren is in Fessenden, *History of Warren, R. I.*, 27–30, published in 1845, as a supplement to Tustin's *Discourse*. On the MS. map, prepared by Ezra Stiles and reproduced in this volume, Warren is designated as the location. A spring, near Baker's Wharf, was long known as Massasoit's spring, and as early as 1632 there was an English house in the place, probably a trading house of Plymouth. Winthrop, *History*, I. *72.

[3] Fully to appreciate the good fortune of the Pilgrims in possessing Tisquantum and Hobbamock as interpreters, it is only necessary to read what one of the Jesuit Fathers says on the difficulties of learning the language of the Indians. "Meanwhile, the greatest desire of our brethren, zealously occupied with the performance of their duties, was at the start to know the language of the natives, which the Frenchmen — caring

their corne, wher to take fish, and to procure other comodities, and was also their pilott to bring them to unknowne places for their profitt, and never left them till he dyed. He was a *native* [58] *of this place*,[1] and scarce any left alive besides him selfe. He was caried away with diverce others by one *Hunt*,[2] a m[aster] of a ship, who

but little for it, with one exception — could not impart by rules, or teach with advantage; so only one method remained, to learn it from the stupid natives, not by lessons, but by constant practice. Consequently, after our associates had made various attempts to conciliate the Savages, by gifts, by friendliness, and by every sort of service, they accomplished little or nothing. For, besides the fact that they employed teachers not at all fitted for instruction, from whom nothing could be obtained unless their stomachs were first liberally crammed, and who, being very impatient of even a short delay, would often be distracted and drawn away from one by earnest inquiry about any subject: the very nature of the language, also, so deficient in words suitable for the expression of even the most common ideas, evaded the eager pursuit of our men, and greatly disheartened them. Of those things, indeed, which fall under sight, touch, and the other senses, the names were obtained from the answers of the Savages in one way or another; but for those things which elude the senses, there is the greatest scarcity of names among that race, and also a profound ignorance of the things themselves. The knowledge of the latter class was despaired of, since the Savages either could not, or would not explain the former." An instrument was offered in young Pontgravé, who had fled from punishment and had lived long enough among the Indians to know their language; but for political reasons, his services were not used. *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites ed.), II. 219, 231, 241.

In the archives of the Catholic church at the mission of Lac des deux Montagnes (Oka), Canada, are preserved a grammar, dictionary, discourses and instructions in the Algonquian language, dated about the middle of the seventeenth century. Before 1630 only fragments of a vocabulary of the Massachusetts or New England languages are to be found, in Winslow and Captain John Smith. See Pilling, *Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages*, 1891.

[1] Mourt speaks of Squanto as "the only natiue of *Patuxat*, where we now inhabite." His tribesmen were swept away by the plague.

[2] Thomas Hunt was master of one of the two vessels in Captain John Smith's voyage to the coast of New England in 1614. After Smith's departure, Hunt's vessel "staied to fit herselfe for Spaine with the dry fish," and it was then that he kidnapped twenty-four of the natives. He took them to Malaga, Spain, where for a little private gain he sold those "silly Saluages for Rials of eight; but this vilde act kept him euer after from any more imploiment to those parts." Smith, *Generall Historie*, 204, 205. In the *Briefe Relation*, *12, it is said that only as many were sold as he could get money for. "But when it was understood from whence they were brought, the Friers of those

thought to sell them for slaves in Spaine; but he got away for England, and was entertained by a marchante in London,[1] and imployed to New-found-land and other parts, and lastly brought hither into these parts by one Mr. *Dermer*, a gentle-man imployed by Sir Ferdinando Gorges and others, for discovery, and other designes in these parts.[2] Of whom I shall say some thing, because it is men-

parts took the rest from them, and kept them to be instructed in the Christian Faith; and so disappointed this unworthy fellow of the hopes of gaine he conceiued to make by this new and Deuilish project." Hunt was not the first to kidnap the Indians. Smith attributed a deep purpose to the act, "to keepe this abounding Countrey still in obscuritie, that onely he [Hunt] and some few Merchants more might enioy wholly the benefit of the Trade, and profit of this Countrey." *Generall Historie*, 205. The same charge, with the added one of treacherous conduct, is made in the *Description of New England*, 65. In the Public Records Office, London, is a letter from Captain John Barlee to Levinus Munck, dated August 18, 1607, sending a list of prisoners in Spain, and adding that the "Adventurers" particularly wish the recovery of two savages, Manedo and Sasacomett, whom they hope to make very useful to them. 2 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, II. 38. Barlee was Gorges' Lieutenant Captain in 1607. Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges* (Prince Society), III. 143.

[1] Mourt gives the name of the merchant, Master John Slanie, who dwelt in Cornehill, and was governor of the Newfoundland Company, 1610–1628, and held the office of Treasurer. Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, IV. 1876. One Humfrey Slany, merchant of London, was in the same company, traded with Guinea, and held shares in the Virginia Company.

[2] Thomas Dermer had been employed by the Council of New England with Captain John Smith, and set sail (1615) with that unfortunate leader, whose vessel proved unseaworthy and put back into port. Dermer in a small bark continued his voyage, and is supposed to have remained in Newfoundland from 1616 to 1618, during which time he saw Tisquantum, then with Captain John Mason, governor of that island. Returning to England in 1618, he was again sent to America on a fishing voyage, and ordered to join Captain Rocraft, another agent of the Company, then believed to be at the Newfoundland fishing station. Dermer did not find him there, and learning of his death in Virginia, determined to take a pinnace and explore the coast, such doubtless being his instructions. A relation of his voyage was read before the Virginia Company in London, July 10, 1621. Leaving the fishermen to their labor, he coasted the shore from thence, searching every harbor, and compassing every capeland, till he arrived in Virginia. It was on his return voyage northward that he encountered some vessels of Amsterdam and Horne, in Delaware and Hudson rivers, "who yearly had there a great and rich trade for Furrs." His accounts so worked upon

A briefe Relation
OF THE
DISCOVERY
AND PLANTATION
OF
NEVV ENGLAND:
AND
OF SVNDRY ACCIDENTS
THEREIN OCCVRRING, FROM
the yeere of our Lord M. DC. VII. to this
preſent M. DC. XXII.

Together with the ſtate thereof as now it ſtandeth;
the generall forme of gouernment intended; and the
diuiſion of the whole Territorie into Coun-
ties, Baronries, &c.

LONDON,
Printed by *John Haviland*, and are to be
ſold by WILLIAM BLADEN,
M. DC. XXII.

tioned in a booke set forth Anno: 1622. by the Presidente and Counsell for New-England,[1] that he made the peace betweene the salvages of these parts and the English; of which this plantation, as it is intimated, had the benefite. But what a peace it was, may apeare by what befell him and his men.[2]

This Mr. Dermer was hear the same year that these people came, as apears by a relation written by him, and given me by a freind, bearing date *June* ·30· Anno: 1620. And they came in November following, so ther was but ·4· months differance. In which relation to his honored[3] freind, he hath these pasages of this very place.

I will first begine (saith he) with that place from whence *Squanto, or Tisquantem*, was taken away; which in Cap: *Smiths mape* is called *Plimoth*;[4] and I would that Plimoth had the like comodities. I would

the cupidity of the Company that the *Discovery* was sent out to drive the Dutch and French away. Returning to New England to continue his discoveries he was set upon by some Indians, badly wounded, and, retiring to Virginia, there died. 2 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, IX. 7; *Records of the Virginia Company*, I. 504.

[1] Page 17. — BRADFORD. *A Briefe Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England*. The pamphlet is reprinted in 2 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, IX., and in *Ferdinando Gorges* (Prince Society), I. 199. The reference will be found on p. 13.

[2] Gorges says that Dermer was "betrayed by certaine new Saluages, who sodainly set upon him, giving him foureteene or fifteene wounds; but by his valour, and dexteritie of spirit he freed himselfe out of their hands, yet was constrained to retire into Virginia again the second time, for the cure of his wounds, where he fell sicke of the infirmities of that place, and thereof dyed: so ended this worthie Gentleman his dayes, after he had remained in the discouery of that coast two yeares, giuing vs good content in all hee vndertooke; and after he had made the peace between vs and the Saluages, that so much abhorred our Nation for the wrongs done them by others, as you haue heard; but the fruit of his labour in that behalfe we as yet receiue to our great commoditie, who haue a peaceable plantation at this present time among them, where our people both prosper, and liue in good liking, and assurednesse of their neighbours, that had beene formerly so much exasperated against vs." *A Briefe Relation*, *19. In his *Briefe Narration*, *20, he mentions Epenow as the betrayer of Dermer, and Capewack as the place of the encounter. Epenow had good reason to be suspicious of any European.

[3] The word was first written *honourable*, but even this fails to suggest the person to whom it was written.

[4] "Plymouth . . . still bears the name assigned to the place by Smith. We are not

that the first plantation might hear be seated, if ther come to the number of ·50· persons, or upward. Otherwise at Charlton,[1] because ther the savages are lese to be feared. The *Pocanawkits*, which live to the *west* of *Plimoth*, bear an invetrate malice to the English, and are of more streingth then all the savages from thence to Penobscote.[2] Their desire of revenge was occasioned by an English man, who having many of them on bord, made a great slaughter with their murderers [3] and

told when the Pilgrims formally adopted it. They must have been familiar with Smith's map, and could not long have been ignorant of the fact, that the spot which they had selected for their plantation bore this name. Morton says, 'This name of Plymouth was so called, not only for the reason here named, but also because Plymouth in O. E. was the last town they left in their native country; and for that they received many kindnesses from some Christians there.' The place was at an early period called *New Plymouth*. In William Hilton's letter written from this place in 1621, it is so styled; and it became the legal designation of the *colony*. As their numbers increased, and towns began to spring up within the jurisdiction, the early place of settlement, as a town, was called Plymouth, while the colony or plantation was styled New Plymouth. On some of the later impressions of Smith's map [beginning with the seventh state], issued in some of his other works, after the establishment of this colony, the word 'New' is engraved over the name Plymouth. Morton's *Memoriall*, 25; *Plymouth Colony Laws* (Brigham's ed.), 22–38." DEANE. On Smith's map, see Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston*, I. 55.

[1] On the eighth state of Smith's map, inserted in the second or 1632 issue of the *Generall Historie*, Charlton appears on the south side of the Charles River, and near its mouth.

[2] "The Pawkunnawkutts were a great people heretofore. They lived to the east and northeast of the Narragansitts; and their chief sachem held dominion over divers other petty sagamores; as the sagamores upon the island of Nantuckett, and Nope, or Martha's Vineyard, of Nawsett, of Mannamoyk, of Sawkattukett, [Bridgewater] Nobsquasitt, Matakees [both in Yarmouth], and several others, and some of the Nipmucks. Their country, for the most part, falls within the jurisdiction of New Plymouth Colony. This people were a potent nation in former times; and could raise as the most credible and ancient Indians affirm, about three thousand men. They held war with the Narragansitts, and often joined with the Massachusetts, as friends and confederates against the Narragansitts." Gookin, *Historical Collections*, in *Mass. Hist. Collections*, I. 148, who adds that this nation was almost swept away by the plague. "Thereby divine providence made way for the quiet and peaceable settlement of the English in those nations."

[3] Small cannon or mortars, and usually named apart from "ordinance" or larger pieces. As late as 1704 they were "mostly used at Sea at the Bulk-heads of the

smale shot, when as (they say) they offered no injurie on their parts. Whether they were English or no, it may be douted; yet they beleeve they were, for the Frenche [1] have so possest them; for which cause *Squanto* cannot deney [2] but they would have kild me when I was at *Namasket*,[3] had he not entreated hard for me. The soyle of the borders of [59] this great bay, may be compared to most of the plantations which I have seene in Virginia. The land is of diverce sorts; for *Patuxite* is a hardy but strong soyle, *Nawset* [4] and *Saughtughtett* [5] are for the most part a blakish and deep mould, much like that wher groweth the best tobaco in Virginia. In the botume of the great bay is store of codd and basse, or mulett, etc. But above all he comends *Pacanawkite* for the richest soyle, and much open ground fitt for English

Forecastle, Half-deck, or Steeridge, in order to clear the Decks when an Enemy boards the ship." Harris, *Lex. Tech.*

[1] This mention of the French refers to the French fishing and fur trading vessels that came to the Cape, and not to the more northern settlements on the St. Lawrence. A curious note on the French in New England will be found in 1 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, v. 129. Prepared in 1630 it depends upon the relations that had come to the notice of the unknown writer. He mentions the French vessel that was near "the Massachusetts upon a Fishing voyadge, and to discover the Bay" which was cast away. He then relates the oft told story of the one old man who escaped to shore, whom the Indians preserved alive, and who exerted himself to draw them from their worship of the Devil. Failing in this, he uttered the dire prediction that came true in the year of the plague (p. 220, *infra*). What gives a lively interest to this memorandum is a marginal note saying: "Capt. Smith mentioneth this in his booke called 'The Pathway to Plantations.' But I had the most certaine relation thereof from Mr. Oldham who went to N. England presently after this plague." Oldham came in 1623, a passenger in the *Anne*. The incident may refer to the wreck of a French ship mentioned on p. 210, *infra*. That the Frenchmen much used Narragansett Bay, Winslow learned on his mission to Massasoit in June, 1621. Mourt, *43. Frenchman's Bay is found on early maps of the waters below Taunton River.

[2] Against this line Bradford wrote the word "Note."

[3] In Middleborough. Namasket probably means a "fishing place," from *namas*, a fish, *auk*, place, and *et*, at. Kinnicutt, *Indian Names of Plymouth County*, 49. At one time the place was well populated by Indians.

[4] Nauset, now Eastham. Mourt did not record a favorable opinion of the place. (*Relation*, *52.)

[5] Satucket, a part of Brewster.

graine, etc.[1] *Massachusets* is about ·9· leagues from *Plimoth*, and situate in the mids betweene both, is full of ilands and peninsules very fertill for the most part.[2]

With sundrie shuch relations which I forbear to transcribe, being now better knowne then they were to him.

He was[3] taken prisoner by the Indeans at *Manamoiak* (a place not farr from hence, now well knowne). He gave them what they demanded for his liberty, but when they had gott what they desired, they kept him still and indevored to kill his men; but he was freed by seasing on some of them, and kept them bound till they gave him a cannows load of corne. Of which, see Purch: lib. ·9· fol. 1778. But this was Anno: 1619.

After the writing of the former relation he came to the Ile of *Capawack*[4] (which lyes *south* of *this place* in the way to Virginia), and the foresaid *Squanto* with him, wher he going a shore amongst the Ind[e]ans to trad, as he used to doe, was betrayed and assaulted by them, and *all his men slaine, but one that kept the boat;* but him

[1] This last sentence is inclosed with the quotation marks, though manifestly Bradford's own.

[2] Smith called the Massachusetts "the Paradise of all these parts; for, heere are many Iles all planted with corne; groues, mulberries, saluage gardens and good harbors: the Coast is for the most part, high clayie sandie cliffs. The Sea Coast as you passe, shewes you all along large corne fields, and great troupes of well proportioned people: but the *French* having remained heere neere sixe weekes, left nothing for vs to take occasion to examine the inhabitants relations, *viz.* if there be neer three thousand people vpon these Iles; and that the Riuer doth pearce many daies iourneies the intralles of that Countrey." *Description of New England*, *44. This was, of course, before the devastating plague.

[3] Bradford had first written "he was shortly after this." The three words were struck out when he wrote the closing sentence of this paragraph.

[4] Martha's Vineyard, La Soupçonneuse of Champlain. It was from this island that one of the Indians kidnapped by Hunt came, one Epenowe, who "had been showed in London for a wonder." In some way he fell into the hands of Captain Henry Harley, and thus came to the knowledge of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and formed one of the inducements for interesting that speculator in a venture to "Capawick." The story is told in Gorges, *Briefe Narration*, chaps. XI. and XII.

selfe gott abord very sore wounded, and they had cut of his head upon the cudy of his boat, had not the man reskued him with a sword. And so they got away, and made shift to gett into Virginia, wher he dyed; whether of his wounds or the diseases of the cuntrie, or both togeather, is uncertaine.[1] [60] By all which it may appear how farr these people were from peace, and with what danger this plantation was begune, save as the powerfull hand of the Lord did protect them. These thing[s] were partly the reason why they kept aloofe and were so long before they came to the English. An other reason (as after them selves made known) was how aboute ·3· *years before*,[2] a French-ship was cast away at *Cap-Codd*, but the men gott ashore, and saved their lives, and much of their victails, and other goods; but after the Indeans heard of it, they geathered togeather from these parts, and never left watching and dogging them till they got advantage, and *kild them all but* ·3· *or* ·4· which they kept, and sent from one Sachem to another, to make sporte with, and used them worse then slaves; (of which the foresaid Mr. Dermer redemed ·2· of them;) and they conceived this ship was now come to revenge it.[3]

[1] Dermer, with Squanto as guide, had visited Plymouth and travelled a day's journey westward to Nummastaquyt (Namasket or Middleboro), whence he sent messengers a day's journey further west to Poconackit. At Poconackit, which he described as bordering on the sea, he met two Indian kings, one of whom is believed to have been Massasoit, and the other Quadaquina. Returning to Monhegan he embarked on a pinnace the *Sampson* for a voyage of discovery to Virginia, was nearly wrecked near Nahant harbor, and sailing round Cape Cod he was taken prisoner by Indians at Manamoick "the southerne part of Cape Cod, now called Sutcliff Inlets." He was delivered from their hands, and proceeded to Capaock (Martha's Vineyard), where he saw Epenow, the Indian who had escaped from Hobson's vessel in 1614. Thence he went through Long Island Sound to Virginia. His letter will be found in Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, IV. 1778.

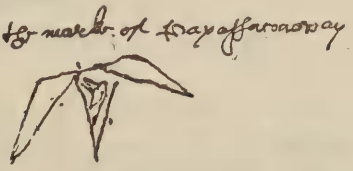
[2] Writing in December, 1619, Dermer spoke of having redeemed that summer one Frenchman at Namasket, and another at Massachusetts, who had "three years since escaped shipwracke at the North-east of Cape Cod." Bradford, using this account, added the word "about."

[3] No more graphic account of the sufferings of those Frenchmen could be given

Also, (as after was made knowne,) before they came to the English to make freindship, they gott all the *Powachs*[1] of the cuntrie,

than that of Pratt in his "Narrative" (4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, IV. 479), as told him by Peksuot, the Indian sachem in those parts: "You say French men doe not loue you, but I will tell you what wee haue don to them. Ther was a ship broken by a storm. They saued most of their goods and hid it in the Ground. We maed them tell us whear it was. Then we maed them our sarvants. Thay weept much. When we parted them, we gaue them such meat as our dogs eate. On of them had a Booke he would ofen Reed in. We Asked him 'what his Booke said.' He answered, 'It saith, ther will a people, lick French men, com into this Cuntry and driue you all a way,' and now we thincke you ar thay. We took Away thayr Clothes. Thay liued but a little while. On of them Liued longer than the Rest for he had a good master and gaue him a wiff. He is now ded, but hath a sonn Alive."

[1] "It was known to the said planters of Plymouth not long after, that these Indians, before they came to make friendship with them, had taken Balaam's counsel against Israel in getting all the powwawes of the country together, who for three days incessantly had, in a dark and dismal swamp, attempted to have cursed the English, and thereby have prevented their settling in those parts, which when they discerned was not like to take place, they were not unwilling to seek after a peace. The like was confessed many years after to have been attempted by an old and noted and chief Sagamore and Powaw, about Merrimack, to the northward of the Massachusetts, called Passaconaway, who, when he perceived he could not bring about his ends therein, he left it, as his last charge to his son, that was to succeed him, and all his people, never to quarrel with the English, lest thereby they came to be destroyed utterly, and rooted out of the country." Hubbard, *History*, 60. In 1642 Passaconaway was, with other Indians, disarmed by the Massachusetts government, but he remained friendly to the English, and certainly died before 1675, in spite of tradition to the contrary. Drake, *Biography and History of the Indians of North America* (11th ed.), 278. "There are, however, among them some persons who, as they say, are in concert with the devil, in whom they have great faith. They tell them all that is to happen to them, but in so doing lie for the most part. Sometimes they succeed in hitting the mark very well, and tell them things similar to those which actually happen to them. For this reason they have faith in them, as if they were prophets; while they are only impostors who delude them, as the Egyptians and Bohemians do the simple villagers." Champlain, *Voyages* (Prince Society), II. 124. Winslow states that the "office and duty of the powah is to be exercised principally in calling upon the devil, and curing diseases of the sick or wounded." See his *Good Newes from New England*, *53, and his



for ·3· days togeather, in a horid and divellish maner to curse and execrate them with their cunjurations, which asembly and service they held in a darke and dismale swampe.

But to returne. The spring now approaching, it pleased God the mortalitie begane to cease amongst them, and the sick and lame re-



PRINTING OFFICE, ENGLAND, SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

covered apace, which put as [it] were new life into them; though they had borne their sadd affliction with much patience and contentednes, as I thinke any people could doe. But it was the Lord which upheld them, and had beforehand prepared them; many having long borne the yoake, yea from their youth. Many other smaler maters I omite, sundrie of them having been allready published in a Jurnall made by one of the company; and some other passages of jurneys and

account of the sickness of Massasoit, in the same work, *28. Roger Williams once witnessed the performance of a powah, but after that he "durst never bee an eye witnesse, Spectatour, or looker on, least I should have been partaker of Sathans Inventions and Worships, contrary to *Ephes.* 5. 14 [probably meaning v. 11]." *Key into the Language*, 152.

relations allredy published, to which I referr those that are willing to know them more perticulerly.[1] And being now come to the ·25· of March I shall begine the year 1621. [61]

[1] The manuscript of Mourt's *Relation* was carried to England by Robert Cushman, who sailing in the *Fortune*, did not reach London till February, 1622. The title of the *Relation* was entered on the Stationer's Register, June 29, 1622, as *Newes from newe England*. About a fortnight later, on July 15 the council of Plymouth entered on the Register the title of its pamphlet *A Breife Relation of the Discouerie, and Plantation of Newe England*. The dates are not without significance, as the printing press shewd unusual activity in this year of 1622 in tracts relating to colonization. Cushman's Sermon at Plymouth, New England, December 9, 1621 (registered March 22), Copeland's sermon, preached at Bowe Church in Cheapside in May, 1622 (registered May 18), and Donne's sermon before the Virginia Company, November 13 (registered November 28), represented one phase of this activity. Edward Waterhouse's *Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affaires in Virginia* (registered August 21), and a poem on the Massacre (registered September 11), constituted the new material; while reissues were made of Smith's *New England Trials*, and Whitburne's *New-found-Land*, and an enlarged tract on silkworm culture in Virginia. The competition of the two companies, the proposed restrictions on the fisheries, and the enterprise of the Netherlanders in the West Indies and northern coasts of "Virginia," contributed to this printing of colonization writings.

Anno ·1621·[1]

THEY now began to dispatch the ship away which brought them over, which lay tille aboute this time, or the beginning of Aprill.[2] The reason on their parts why she stayed so long, was the necessitie and danger that lay upon them, for it was well towards the ende of Desember before she could land any thing hear, or they able to receive any thing a shore. Afterwards, the ·14· of Jan[uary] the house which they had made for a generall randevoze by casu[a]lty fell afire, and some were faine to retire abord for shilter. Then the sicknes begane to fall sore amongst them, and the weather so bad as they could not make much sooner any dispatch. Againe, the Gov[ernor] and cheefe of them, seeing so many dye, and fall downe sick dayly, thought it no wisdom to send away the ship, their condition considered, and the danger they stood in from the Indeans, till they could procure some shelter; and therfore thought it better to draw some more charge upon them selves and freinds, then hazard all. The m[aste]r and seamen likewise, though before they hasted the passengers a shore to be goone, now many of their men being dead, and of the ablest of them, (as is before noted,) and of the rest many lay sick and weake, the m[aste]r durst not put to sea, till he saw his men begine to recover, and the hart of winter over.

[1] Carver was again chosen "Governor for this year," and again stood alone in the magistracy. The size of the settlement still permitted all to "meet and consult" on laws and orders, and the communal form of organization upon a business basis made the task of governing comparatively simple. It was still the community of the "compact."

[2] Captain John Smith, whose sources of information were many if not wholly reliable, states that the *Mayflower* left New Plymouth about the fifth of April, and arrived in England the sixth of May. *Generall Historie*, 230.

Afterwards they (as many as were able) began to plant ther corne,[1] in which servise Squanto stood them in great stead, showing them both the maner how to set it, and after how to dress and tend it. Also he tould them excepte they gott fish and set with it (in these old grounds) it would come to nothing, and he showed them that in the midle of Aprill they should have store enough come up the brooke, by which they begane to build, and taught them how to take it, and wher to get other provisions necessary for them; all which they found true by triall and experience.[2] Some English seed

[1] Winslow states that they set some "twentie Acres of *Indian* Corne, and sowed some six Acres of Barly and Pease, and according to the manner of the *Indians*, we manured our ground with Herings or rather Shadds, which we haue in great abundance, and take with great ease at our doores." Mourt, *60. Captain John Smith describes how in New England they "stick at every plant of corne, a herring or two; which commeth in that season in such abundance, they may take more than they know what to doe with." *Advertisements for the Unexperienced*, *27. Morton, a not unreliable observer in spite of his frailties, says: "You may see in one towne-ship a hundred acres together set with these Fish [he misnames the fish shad or allizes], every acre taking 1000. of them: and an acre thus dressed will produce and yeald so much corne as 3. acres without fish." *New English Canaan*, *89. The same practice was followed by the Almouchiquois, described by Champlain, save that the shells of the signoc or siguenocs were used. Roger Williams in his *Key into the Language of America* gives *sequnnock*, called by Josselyn the horse-foot. It is the *Limulus polyphenus*, and is found on the Atlantic coast as far south as Virginia, being still used for fertilizing purposes. A correct representation of the *signoc* is given on Champlain's map of New France, 1612. With the corn, these Indians would plant three or four grains of the Brazilian bean — the bush or kidney bean (*Phaseolus vulgaris*), indigenous to America. Champlain, *Voyages* (Prince Society), II. 64, 86.

At Manhattan fish does not appear to have been used as manure, and in Virginia fish as manure was unknown.

[2] The use of the alewife (*Clupea vernalis*) in planting gave great importance to the taking of the fish. In this respect Plymouth was fortunate in having a source of supply in the brook which ran through the town. The Indian showed them how to place and manage a weir for taking the fish at the proper season, and as early as 1633 the distribution was confined to the inhabitants of the town, "and that no other haue any right or propriety in the same, onely for bait for fishing, and that by such orderly course as shall be thought meet by the Governor and Councell." *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, I. 17. In the earlier years each inhabitant resorted to the brook for his supply of fish, but this was found not only inconvenient, but resulted in injuring the property of those near the

they sew, as wheat and pease, but it came not to good, eather by the badnes of the seed, or latenes of the season, or both, or some other defecte. [62] In this month of *Aprill* whilst they were bussie about their seed, their Gov[ernor] (Mr. John Carver) came out of the feild very sick, it being a hott day; he complained greatly of his head, and lay downe, and within a few howers his sences failed, so as he never spake more till he dyed, which was within a few days after. Whoss death was much lamented, and caused great heavines amongst them, as ther was cause.[1] He was buried in the best maner they could, with some vollies of shott by all that bore armes; and his wife,[2] being a weak woman, dyed within ·5· or ·6· weeks after him.

Shortly after William Bradford was chosen Gove[rno]r in his stead, and being not yet recoverd of his ilnes, in which he had been near the point of death, Isaack Allerton was chosen to be an Asistante unto him, who, by renewed election every year, continued sundry years togeather, which I hear note once for all.[3]

May ·12· was the first mariage in this place,[4] which, according to

place of taking. In 1639 a herring weir was placed in Jones River and also at Mortons Hole, Eagles Nest and Bluefish Rivers. The fishery at the Town Brook appears then to have become a town affair, the weir being kept up by distributing the cost among the inhabitants, and the taking and allotment of the fish being assigned to town officers, who should receive an allowance of two shillings for every thousand fish so taken. For others to take fish either above or below the weir after it was set was punished by a forfeit of five to one. *Records of the Town of Plymouth*, I. 5, 6.

[1] Hubbard, who had an opportunity to gather information from the sons of the first comers, says of Carver: "he being a gentleman of singular piety, rare humility, and great condescendency; one also of a public spirit, as well as of a public purse, having disbursed the greatest part of that considerable estate God had given him, for the carrying on the interest of the company, as their urgent necessity required." *History*, 67.

[2] Her name was Catharine, but of what family is unknown. In Leyden they lived first on Middleberg and, after 1617, on Middlegracht. Two children are believed to have been buried in Holland, but the governor left no descendants.

[3] In 1624 the number of Assistants was increased to five, and the governor had a double voice. *Infra*, p. 350.

[4] The marriage here noticed was that of Edward Winslow. The wife, Elizabeth

A MOST HVMBLE

SVPPLICATION

OF MANY THE KINGS MAIESTIES *LOTALL SVBIECTS, READY TO TES-*tifie all civill obedience, by the oath, as the Law of this Realme requireth, and that of conſcience;

Who are *Perſecuted*, onely for differing in Religion, contrary to divine and humane teſtimonies as followeth.

Prov. 21.13.

He that ſtoppeth his eare at the crying of the poore, he ſhall alſo crie, and not be heard.

Printed 1621.

the laudable custome of the Low-cuntries, in which they had lived, was thought most requisite to be performed by the magistrate, as being a civill thing, upon which many questions aboute inheritances doe depende, with other things most proper to their cognizans, and most consonante to the scriptures, Ruth ·4· and no wher found in the gospell to be layed on the ministers as a part of their office. "This decree or law about mariage was publisht by the States of the Low-countries Anno: 1590. That those of any religion, after lawfull and open publication, coming before the magistrates, in the Town or Stat-house, were to be orderly (by them) maried one to another." Petets Hist. fol: 1029.[1] And this practiss hath

(Barker), whom he had married in Leyden in May, 1618, died on March 24, 1621. He now marries Mrs. Susannah (Fuller) White, widow of William White, who died February 21, 1620–21, and mother of Peregrine White.

[1] Jean François Le Petit, compiler of *La Grande Chronique ancienne et moderne, de Hollande, Zelande*, etc., to the end of 1600. The work was published at Dordrecht, 1601, in two volumes, but the pagination does not permit comparison with Bradford's reference. No English translation was printed.

In 1604 there was issued at Amsterdam, *An Apologie or Defence of svch Trve Christians as are commonly (but vniustly) called Brovvnists*, etc., by Francis Johnson and Henry Ainsworth, in which was expressed the opinion "that the celebration of marriage, and burial of the dead, be not ecclesiasticall actions appertaining to the ministry, but civil and so to be performed; . . . else there will be a nourishing still of two popish errors by this means; the one, that matrimony is a sacrament, the other, that prayer is to be used for the dead, or at least over them, at their burial." See 1 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, XVII. 168. In his *Just and Necessary Apology* (1619), Robinson writes in favor of this view of marriage, which "doth properly and immediately, appertain to the family. . . . Secondarily and immediately to the commonwealth, and public governors of the same: who, therefore weighing their office, and what concerneth them do accordingly, in the Low Countries, comelily and in good order tie that knot of that marriage amongst such their subjects, as require it at their hands. . . . Neither ought the pastor's office to be stretched to any other acts than those of religion, and such as are peculiar to Christians: amongst which marriage, common to Gentiles as well as to them, hath no place." *Works*, III. 45. "Marriage [is] likewise solemnized by the English and Dutch Reformed Churches, without the use of the ring or any ceremony, only an admonition precedes, directing how these married persons should demean themselves each to other, and for that end those scriptures read hereunto most pertinent; as also a large discourse precedes, touching

continued amongst, not only them, but hath been followed by all the famous churches of Christ in these parts to this time, Anno: 1646.

Haveing in some sorte ordered their bussines at home, it was thought meete to send some abroad to see their new freind Massasoyet, and to bestow upon him some gratuitie to bind him the faster unto them; as also that hearby they might veiw the countrie, and see in what maner he lived, what strength he had aboute him, and how the ways were to his place, if at any time they should have occasion.[1] So the ·2· *of July* they sente Mr. Edward Winslow and Mr. Hopkins,[2] with the fore said Squanto for ther guid, who gave him a suite of cloaths, and a horse-mans coate, with some other small things, which were kindly accepted; but they found but short commons, and came both weary and hungrie home. For the Indeans used then to have nothing [63] so much corne as they have since the English have stored them with their hows,[3] and seene their indus-

the institution of this sacred ordinance, and those texts hereunto pertinent also read." Brereton, *Travels*, 63.

[1] A full account of this mission, by the pen of Edward Winslow, is in Mourt, *40. Bradford does not mention a reason for this embassy on which his message to Massasoit laid some stress, the over friendliness of the Indians with their wives and children, whose frequent visits made heavy demands upon the small stock of food at New Plymouth. Winslow noted that the manner of all Indians is to live "where victuall is easiliest to be got," especially in summer. The English settlement, being on a good lobster ground, experienced what this visit and stay of the natives imposed upon their hospitality and good nature. Opportunity was taken, also, to offer to the Cape Indians, through Massasoit, compensation for the corn taken the previous winter on the first landing in the Cape bay.

[2] The date in Mourt is June 10, an error, as that day was the Sabbath. Dexter believes it to be a misprint. It was Stephen Hopkins who accompanied Winslow. He appears to have been reliable and venturesome, having taken part in two of the exploring expeditions on the Cape. He came from London, and was not a member of the Leyden church. Rev. Mr. Da Costa, in *New England Gen. Hist. Reg.*, XXXIII, 301, seeks to identify this Stephen Hopkins with the somewhat unruly passenger on the *Sea Adventure*, wrecked upon Bermuda, July 28, 1609, when on his way to Virginia.

[3] The Indian never took kindly to the plough, though much impressed by its efficacy, seeing it "teare up more ground in a day, than their Clamme shels could scrape

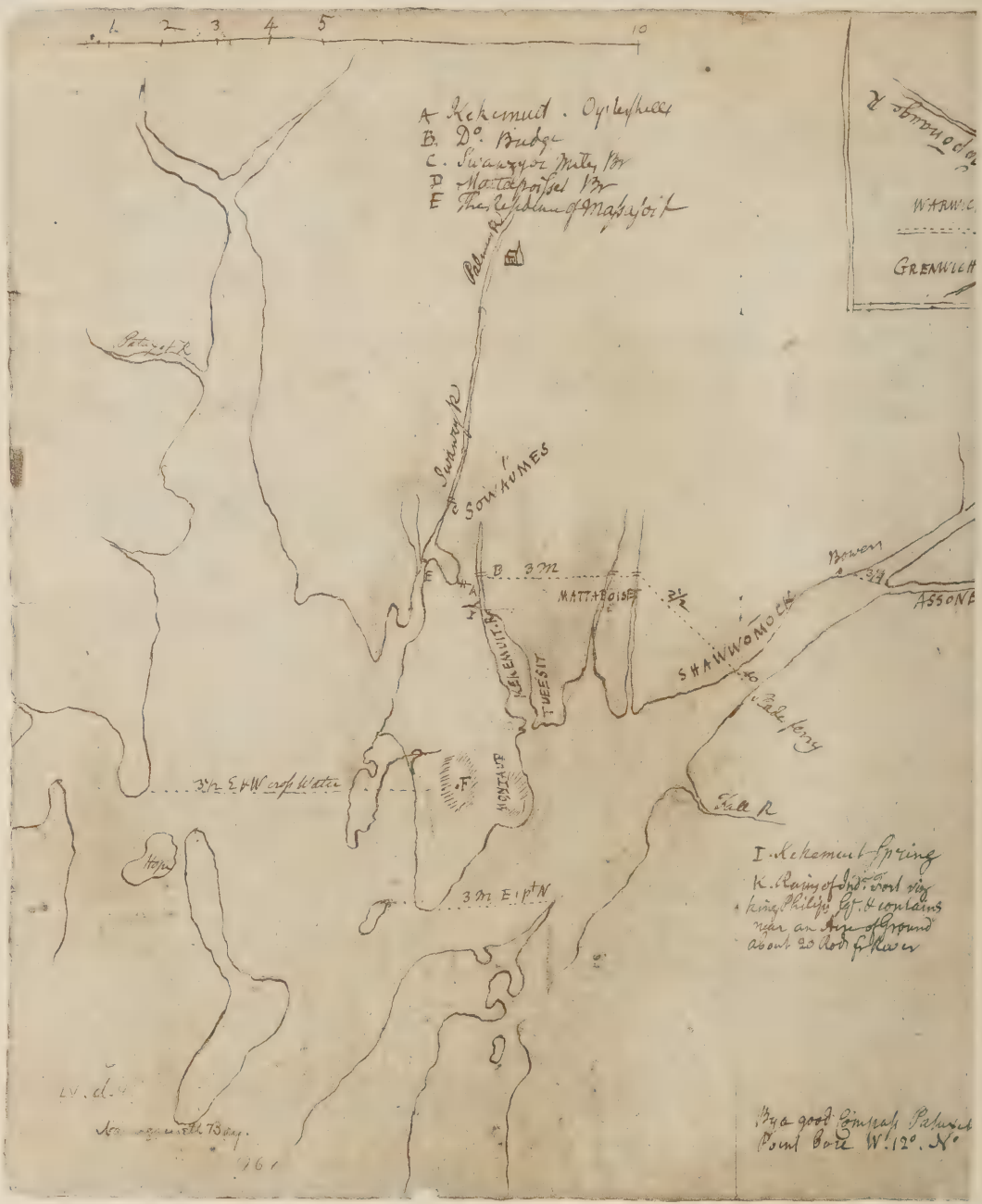
trie in breaking up new-grounds therwith.[1] *They found his place to be* ·40· *myles from hence*, the soyle good, and the people not many, being dead and abundantly wasted in the late great mortalitie which fell in all these parts aboute *three years* before the coming of the English, wherin thousands of them dyed; they not being able to burie one another, ther sculs and bones were found in many places lying still above ground, where their houses and dwellings had been; a very sad spectackle to behould. But they brought word that the Narighansets[2] lived but on the other side of that great bay, and

up in a month." Having no cattle or horses and the labor of cultivation falling upon the women, the male Indian found no use for such an implement. Wood extols the good cultivation by clam shells, giving a preference to it over that resulting from the use of European tools. *New Englands Prospect*, *81.

[1] As Winslow and Hopkins followed the river of Wenatuxet, a branch of the Titicut, rising about six miles from New Plymouth, they noted that few places by the river had not been cleared and gave signs of having been inhabited. "Thousands of men have lived there, which dyed in a great plague not long since: and pitty it was and is to see, so many goodly fieldes, and so well seated, without men to dresse and manure the same." Mourt, *43, 44.

In April, 1636, John Winthrop, Jr., made a journey to this place, and thus described it: "I suppose you have heard of our arrivall at Teeticut, and oportune meeting with our vessell. Concerning that place, I conceive it is not above 22 or 24 miles from mount Wooliston or Dorchester mill, the cuntry thereabouts very fertyle and rich ground, and so all downe the river for 30 miles together (for so farre we went downe before it grew wide into Saceames [Sowams] harbour); a ship of 500 tunnes may come vp about 10 or 12 miles in the Narrow river. There is noe meadow nor salt marsh all the way, neyther could I see any in all Narigansett Bay, and as farre as I could perceive, there is more marshe vpon Charles River and Misticke then all the Naragansetts neere the sea. I was vp with Canonicus at his great citty. There be many wigwams, but they stand not together as I have heard reported. The ground there seemeth to be farre worse then the ground of the Massachusett, being light, sandy and rocky, yet they have good corne without fish: but I vnderstand that they take this course; they have every one 2 feilds, which after the first 2 yeares they lett one feild rest each yeare, and that kepes their ground continually in hart." *John Winthrop, Jr. to his father*, April 7, 1636. 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VI. 514. The river is formed by the Wenatuxet and Namasket rivers, which uniting make the Titicut or Taunton Great River.

[2] "The Narragansitts were a great people heretofore; and the territory of their sachem extended about thirty or forty miles from Sekunk River and Narragansitt Bay, including Rhode Island and other islands in that bay, being their east and north



SOWAMS, RESIDENCE OF OUSAMEKIN.

were a strong people, and many in number, living compacte togeather, and had not been at all touched with this wasting plague.[1]

bounds or border, and so running westerly and southerly unto a place called Wekapage [Southerton?] four or five miles to the eastward of the Pawcutuk River, which was reckoned for their south and west border, and the easternmost limits of the Pequots. This sachem held dominion over divers petty governors, as part of Long Island, Block Island, Cawesit [in Wareham], Niantick, and others, and had tribute from some of the Nipmuck Indians, that lived remote from the sea. The chief seat of this sachem was about Narragansitt Bay and Cannonicut Island. The Narragansitts were reckoned in former times able to arm for war more than five thousand men, as ancient Indians say. All do agree they were a great people, and oftentimes waged war with the Pawkunnawkutts and Massachusetts, as well as with the Pequots." Gookin, Historical Collections of the Indians of New England, in *1 Mass. Hist. Collections*, 1. 147.

[1] Bradford's account of the gruesome evidences of the plague is supported by Thomas Morton: "And the bones and skulls upon the severall places of their habitations made such a spectacle after my comming into those partes, that, as I travailed in that Forrest nere the Massachusets, it seemed to mee a new found Golgotha." *New English Canaan* (Prince Society), 132.

No mention of the epidemic which proved so disastrous to the Indians occurs before the winter of 1616–17, which Richard Vines and his companions passed at Saco River. Doubtless from him Gorges learned that the warriors had perished in war, and "those that remained were sore afflicted with the Plague, for that the Country was in a manner left void of Inhabitants; Notwithstanding, *Vines* and the rest with him that lay in the Cabbins with those People that dyed some more, some lesse, mightily, (blessed be *GOD* for it) not one of them ever felt their heads to ake while they stayed there." *Description of New England*, *12. Two years later, in 1619, Dermer described the disease as "the Plague, for wee might perceive the sores of some that had escaped, who described the spots of such as usually die." Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, IV. 1778. The Pilgrims were told by Samoset that at Patuxet, where they had set New Plymouth, "about four years ago all the inhabitants died of an extraordinary plague, and there is neither man, woman, nor child remaining, as indeed we have found none." Mourt, *33. The time of this pestilence in Massachusetts would thus seem to be fixed, beginning with the year 1616, and burning itself out in 1617, but still existing in places in 1619. Winslow speaks of finding among the Massachusetts people in December, 1622, a great sickness, "not unlike the plague, if not the same," but he could not speak with knowledge, never having seen a case of the plague. If the disease was the same, it did not spread generally, as the tribes in the South of the Bay were free from it, though it was found in January, 1623, at Namasket. Winslow, *Good Newes from New England*, *20. Phinehas Pratt recalled when writing his account, that when the Weston people settled at Wessagusset there was a "great Plag Among the salvagis,

About the *later end of this month*, one John Billington lost him selfe in the woods, and wandered up and downe some ·5· days, living on beries and what he could find. At length he light on an In-

and, as them selfs told vs half thayr people died thereof." 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, IV. 479. This doubtless referred to the Massachusetts tribe, against which Weston's people committed their depredations. The anonymous writer of the *New England Narrative*, 1630, says the plague lasted for three years. This he gives on the authority of John Oldham. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, v. 130. His statements are much altered by Sir Joseph Williamson, who had the paper before him when he wrote in 1663.

Authorities show no differences in describing the results of the pestilence. The Indian population on the coast of Massachusetts was practically wiped out. Captain John Smith had counted forty settlements on the coast from the Penobscot to Cape Cod. *Description of New England*, *25. Dermer passed along the same coast in 1619 and "found some antient Plantations, not long since populous now vtterly void; in other places a remnant remaines, but not free of sickness." The banks of the Titicut River told the same story to Winslow.

Little can be learned from a study of the use of words by such writers as sea-captains and adventurers. Plague was at this time not unfrequently associated with the idea of divine anger or justice, and the word occurs in that connection in Wiclif (1382). It was applied to any infectious disease or epidemic, accompanied with great mortality; but the plague was particularly that which in later times is called the "oriental" or "bubonic plague," closely resembling typhus in its symptoms, "but distinguished from it by the absence of any true rash, and by the development of buboes and carbuncles." The *Athenæum* (London), September 25, 1886, gives a list of the dates of the appearance of this scourge from A.D. 252 to 1837. Charles Francis Adams has on two occasions reviewed the evidence at hand, once in his edition of Morton's *New English Canaan* (Prince Society), 133, and again in his *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History*, I. 4, 9. He rejects the suggestion that it was yellow fever, though Gookin obtained an account of the disease, from some old Indians, who had been youths at the time of the pestilence, answering to that fever. "The bodies all over were exceeding yellow, describing it by a yellow garment they showed me, both before they died and afterwards." 1 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, I. 148. That the disease did not attack Europeans and was not stayed by frost, are taken to be good reasons against its being yellow fever. Small-pox was too familiar to Europeans to have escaped notice, and Bradford expressly states that the small-pox was more feared by the Indians than the plague. Roger Williams also made a distinction between the plague and pox. *Narragansett Club*, VI. 99. It could not, therefore, have been the small-pox. Mr. Adams concludes that it was "more probably, as Bradford says, 'an infectious fever,' or some form of malignant typhus, due to the wretched



CHAMPLAIN'S MAP OF MAL



LEBARRE (NAUSET HARBOR)

dean plantation, ·20· miles south of this place, called *Manamet*. They conveid him furder of, to *Nawssett*, among those peopl[e] that had before set upon the English when they were costing, whilest

sanitary condition of the Indian villages." Note in *New English Canaan*, 134. Dr. Herbert U. Williams says: "There is no evidence in any of the original records to suggest that the epidemic among the Indians was a disease native to the New England coast, but there are several reasons for thinking that it was not. First, may be noted the great susceptibility of the Indians, and second, the immunity of the English. Ample means for the transportation of an infection were present in Indians that had been taken to Europe and afterwards brought back to America, and in the frequent visits of fur traders and fishermen." He further asserts, that "the American continent seems to have been the birthplace of a remarkably small number of the great infectious maladies of the world." *Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin*, xx. 340. The Indians do not seem to have known of the plague before the visitation of 1616. Captain John Smith writes, "but what disease it was the Salvages knew not till the *English* told them, never having seene, nor heard of the like before." *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters*, *9. Morton makes the same statement of a disease which the Indians "never heard of before." *New Englands Memoriall*, *27.

"There can be no doubt that all our familiar maladies were rife in Europe at the time when Columbus set out on his fateful voyage and initiated the greatest tragedy, the most tremendous event in human history. . . . At once, the very ancient conditions of the Old World were reproduced. Air- and water-borne diseases began to sweep in great waves of pestilence over the whole vast regions of the West. The entire population was susceptible; and, therefore, almost every individual was stricken down. Each disease took its toll of victims, and then, its nutritive supply exhausted, passed, but only to return after intervals of years in the same epidemic form. Towns and cities of the European type, foci of endemic disease, arose on the seaboard, extended into the interior, and provided the starting point of fresh epidemics. Measles, cholera, and especially small-pox, penetrated into remote prairies and forests, and piled the earth with the dead." Reid, *Laws of Heredity*. See Stanley Hall in 2 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, xvii. 7, 8.

The Narragansett Indians were not much affected by the plague. This the other Indians attributed to their exceeding devotion in their worship of Kiehtan, their god. Winslow, *Good Newes*, *68. But in 1637 Williams found the great sachem of this tribe, Canonicus, "very sour, and accused the English and my self for sending the plague amongst them, and threatening to kill him especially." This may refer to the later pestilence, though no mention is made of its having prevailed among the Narragansetts. 3 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, i. 159.

The Indians had no remedies for the plague beyond the incantations and performances of their Powahs, who did, most certainly, according to Roger Williams, "(by

the ship lay at the Cape, as is before noted. But the Gove[rno]r caused him to be enquired for among the Indeans, and at length Massassoyt sent word wher he was, and the Gove[rno]r sent a shalop for him, and had him delivered.[1] Those people also came and made their peace; and they gave full satisfaction to those whose corne they had found and taken when they were at Cap-Codd.

the help of the Divell) worke great Cures," though they administered nothing, but howled and roared over the sick. Parkman summarizes the native remedies in his *Jesuits in North America*, 94. The comparative immunity of the European from the disease would naturally suggest to the Indian the idea of his ability to use the plague for his own ends, an idea Tisquantum borrowed to further his ambitions to rule. Nor can it be said the English remedies of the day were much better. To one of the Winthrops an English physician sent directions for making "my Black powder against the plague, small pox," etc., of which toads formed the chief ingredient. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, v. 381. The "plague-water" of 1727 showed little improvement: "*Aqua epidemica* is prepared from the roots of masterwort, angelica, pyony, and butter-bur; viper-glass Virginia-snakeroot, rue, rosemary, baum, [etc.]; the whole is infused in spirit of wine, and distilled." *Chambers's Encyclopædia*, s. v. Water. In one respect the practice of the Indians did not differ widely from that of the English. As the latter believed in smothering and sweating out a fever, so the Indians used their "hot-house," which is described in Williams, *Key into the Language of America*, 211.

It would be too much to expect that the opportunity to draw a lesson from this visitation would be allowed to pass by the English; but it is curious to find the two Mortons uniting upon the same story. A Frenchman thrown among the Indians by the destruction of his vessel, threatened them with the displeasure of God, who would destroy them for their wickedness. Thomas Morton says the Frenchman predicted that vengeance would come for their "bloudy deede" in killing four captive Frenchmen. Nathaniel Morton states that he said: "God was angry with them for their wickedness, and would destroy them, and give their Country to another people, that should not live like beasts as they did," etc. And in the margin he wrote "A memorable passage of Gods punishing of the Heathen for their notorious Blasphemy, and other sins." Cotton Mather uses the incident in his *Magnalia*, B. 1. ch. ii. § 6. *Supra*, p. 208. Nathaniel Morton adds that the Indians saw a "Blazing Star or Comet, which was a fore-runner of this sad Mortality, for soon after it came upon them in extremity," and explains that "this seemeth to be the same that was seen about that time in Europe." To accept this statement would place the pestilence late in 1618, two comets being seen in Europe in that year, one in August, and the second in October. *New Englands Memoriall*, *23.

[1] Mourt, *49, gives a detailed account of this mission, but assigns the wrong date of June 11. Prince adopts Bradford, and so does Dexter.

Thus ther peace and aquaintance was prety well establisht with the natives aboute them; and ther was an other Indean called *Hobamack* come to live amongst them,[1] a proper lustie man, and a man of accounte for his vallour and parts amongst the Indeans, and continued very faithfull and constant to the English till he dyed. He and Squanto being gone upon bussines amonge the Indeans, at their returne (whether it was out of envie to them or malice to the English) ther was a Sachem called Corbitant,[2] alyed to Massassoyte, but never any good freind to the English to this day, mett with them at an Indean towne caled Namassakett · 14 · miles to the west of this place, and begane to quarell with [64] them, and offered to stabe Hobamack; but being a lusty man, he cleared him selfe of him, and came running away all sweating and tould the Gov[erno]r what had befalne him, and he feared they had killed Squanto, for they threatened them both, and for no other cause but because they were freinds to the English, and servisable unto them. Upon this the Gove[rno]r taking counsell, it was conceivd not fitt to be

[1] Hobbamock was a Wampanoag, a man of position in his tribe. The name is not unlike that for an evil spirit, Hobbomock. Wood gives the latter as Abamacho, and relates a story about one Abamoch. *New Englands Prospect*, *65, 69. There exists no proof that the friendly Indian of this name is intended.

No mention is made by Bradford of a third useful native, Tokamahamon, "whom we found faithfull before and after vpon all occasions." Mourt, *46.

[2] Corbitant lived at Mettapuyst, now Gardner's Neck, in the township of Swansea, lying between the Shawomet or Sewammock, and Toweset necks. This place was some five or six miles from Puckanokick, and the name was derived from *Mattapu*, "he sits down," with a locative affix, "denoting a resting place, the end of a carry, between rivers, round falls, etc., where, after carrying the canoe, they rested." Kinnicutt, *Indian Names of Places in Plymouth County*, 46. Corbitant was sachem of Pocasset, and subject to Massasoit, but was never friendly to, or trusted by, the English. He may have been the sachem who was with Massasoit on the day before Winslow arrived who sought to shake his confidence in the English, "saying if we had been such friends in deed, as we were now in show, we would have visited him in this his sickness, using many arguments to withdraw his affections, and to persuade him to give way to some things against us, which were motioned to him not long before." Winslow, *Good Newes*, *31.

borne; for if they should suffer their freinds and messengers [1] thus to be wronged, they should have none would cleave to them, or give them any inteligence, or doe them serviss afterwards; but nexte they would fall upon them selves. Where upon it was resolved to send the Captaine and ·14· men well armed, and to goe and fall upon them in the night; and if they found that Squanto was kild, to cut of Corbitants head, but not to hurt any but those that had a hand in it. Hobamack was asked if he would goe and be their guid, and bring them ther before day. He said he would, and bring them to the house wher the man lay, and show them which was he. So they set forth the ·14· *of August*, and beset the house round; the Captin giving charg to let none pass out, entred the house to search for him. But he was goone away that day, so they mist him; but understood that Squanto was alive, and that he had only threatened to kill him, and made an offer to stabe him but did not. So they withheld and did no more hurte, and the people came trembling, and brought them the best provissions they had, after they were aquainted by Hobamack what was only intended. Ther was ·3· sore wounded which broak out of the house, and asaid to pass through the garde. These they brought home with them, and they had their wounds drest and cured, and sente home. After this they had many gratulations from diverce sachims, and much firmer peace; yea, those of the Iles of Capawack sent to make frendship;

[1] Even among the Indians the safety of a messenger was assured, "it being as well against the law of arms amongst them as us in Europe to lay violent hands on any such." Winslow, *Good Newes*, *3. "The Mowharke Indians are so extremely insenced or rather inraged at the most inhumane murther committed by the northeren Indians vpon two of their sagamores, whom they sent with presents to confirme the league of friendship lately made between them, to which some of the English of the town of Hadley were witnesses, — I say the Mowharkes are in consideration of the premises so inraged, that they resolue to bee fully reuenged, not only vpon the northeren Indians, but allso vpon all the English, supposeing, as it is affirmed, that the English are the cheife plotters and contriuers of this mischeefe, which the Mowharkes say is a villiny neuer known or heard of amongst the Indians." *Thomas Willett to John Winthrop, Jr.*, July 26, 1664. 5 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, I. 399.

and this Corbitant him selfe used the mediation of Massassoyte to make his peace, but was shie to come neare them a longe while after.[1]

[1] See Mourt, *61. A "treaty" was made with nine of the Indian chiefs on September 13. Of it Winslow wrote in 1635: "We were so tender of his Majesties honor as we would not enter into League with any of the natives that would not together with ourselves acknowledge our Soveraigne for their king as appeareth by a writing to that end, whereunto their knowne markes are prefixed." *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, v. 132. Morton (*New Englands Memoriall*, *29) has preserved the text of this curious document, with the names of the signing Indians. It is in no sense a treaty, but merely an acknowledgment of submission to the King.

"*September* 13. *Anno Dom.* 1621.

"Know all men by these Presents, That we whose Names are under-written do acknowledge our selves to be the Loyal Subjects of King *James*, King of *Great Britain*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. In Witness whereof, and as a Testimonial of the same, we have Subscribed our Names or Marks, as followeth.

"Ohquamehud.	Nattawahunt.	Quadaquina.
"Cawnacome.	Caunbatant.	Huttamoiden.
"Obbatinnua.	Chikkatabak.	Apannow."

Drake describes Ohquamehud as a Wampanoag. The name is also met in the deed from the Indians of Nauset, made to the New Plymouth people in 1666. His name is there spelled Oquomehod, and he is described as the father of George. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, XLIV. 257. Quadaquina, a brother of Massasoit, is believed to have been the second of the two kings from Pocanoket who met Dermer in 1619. Nattawahunt may be the Connecticut Sachem mentioned by Bradford (*infra*, vol. II. p. 168), but under the changed form of Natawanute. Drake, however, believes him to be the Nashacowan, a Nipmuck chief, signer of the agreement with the Massachusetts government of 1643, and with whom Massasoit then lived. Drake, *Indians of North America*, 106; *Mass. Col. Rec.*, II. 55. Obbatinnua has, by some, and Prince among them, been identified as the Obbatinewat, to whom a party was sent about this time. Dexter, however, rejects this identification, on the ground that the English, had it been the same person, would not have asked him to submit himself, as the other chiefs had already done by this paper. Obbatinewat was sachem of the Massachusetts, but recognized Massasoit as his superior. Caunbatant, of whom something will be learned from Mourt, lived at Mattapoist (now Swansea), and became hostile to the English. Chikkatabak, better known as Chikataubat, is also associated with the Massachusetts and with Passonagessit, or Mount Wollaston. He died in 1633. Drake believes Apannow to be Aspinet, of Nauset, and not Epenow, of Martha's Vineyard, and Cawnacome, he thinks, may be Conecoman, sachem of Manomet.

After this, the ·18· of Sep[t]ember they sente out ther shalop to the Massachusets, with ·10· men, and Squanto for their guid and [65] interpreter, to discover and view that bay, and trade with the natives; the which they performed, and found kind entertainement.[1] The people were much affraid of the Tarentins, a people to

The subject is greatly involved in difficulties, and not the least must be attributed to the attempts of the writers to record the names phonetically, and then have their records passed through the hands of copyist and printer. The result shows much confusion.

This peace was not much relied upon by the English. When Massasoit fell sick in 1623, Corbitant, as his probable successor, became of importance, and Winslow, from policy, stopped at Mattapuyst when bearing remedies for the sick chief. "Although he were but a hollow-hearted friend towards us, I thought no time so fit as this to enter into more friendly terms with him, and the rest of the sachems thereabout, hoping, through the blessing of God, it would be a means, in that unsettled state, to settle their affections towards us; and though it were somewhat dangerous, in respect of our personal safety, because myself and Hobbamock had been employed [in 1621] upon a service against him, which he might now fitly revenge; yet esteeming it the best means, leaving the event to God in his mercy, I resolved to put it in practice." He returned with Corbitant to Mattapuyst, after effecting Massasoit's recovery, and lodged with him. "By the way I had much conference with him, so likewise at his house, he being a notable politician, yet full of merry jests and squibs, and never better pleased than when the like are returned again upon him." Winslow, *Good Newes*, *26, 32. An account of a supposed daughter of Corbitant, named Nummumpaum or Weetamoe, the wife of Wamsutta, son of Massasoit, is in *New England Hist. Gen. Reg.*, LIV. 261.

[1] Hubbard says this expedition intended "in part to discover and view the said bay, of which they had heard a great fame, and partly to make way for after trade with the natives of the place; for having lived with the Dutch in Holland, they were naturally addicted to commerce and traffic. . . . For which purpose something like a habitation was set up" at Nantasket. *History*, 68, 102. This habitation could hardly have been more than a temporary shelter or a fishing stage such as was erected in places on the coast resorted to by fishermen. The assertion made by Drake, of the purchase of this territory in 1622 from Chickatabut by Thomas and John Gray and Walter Knight, rested upon an unpublished deposition by Knight, dated 1653, then in Drake's possession. *History of Boston*, 41 *n.* No trace can be found of the deposition since Drake had it. Such a purchase at that time is improbable in itself, and while dates given from memory are open to grave doubt, depositions made, usually by interested parties, cannot be accepted as authority. Knight and

the eastward which used to come in harvest time and take away their corne, and many times kill their persons.[1] They returned in saftie, and brought home a good quan[ti]ty of beaver,[2] and made reporte of the place, wishing they had been ther seated; (but it seems

Thomas Graves, according to Felt, came with Roger Conant; but Conant was at Plymouth in 1623.

[1] The Plymouth authorities appear to have engaged the Indians to plant corn for their use. In November, 1622, Governor Bradford and his party went for grain to the Massachusetts, "and the rather, because the savages, upon our motion, had planted much corn for us, which they promised not long before that time." Champlain had found much land in these parts "cleared and planted with Indian corn." *Voyages*, II. 72.

Champlain found that the Indians on the coast in the Kennebec region did not plant corn, because of their exposure to attack from other tribes. Among the Almouchiquois, near Saco Bay, he saw the first indications of cultivation of the soil by the natives. Among the predatory tribes the Tarratines, living east of the Penobscot, stood prominent, and the Massachusetts formed their convenient prey. John White wrote in 1630: "In times past the *Tarentines* (who dwell from those of *Mattachusets bay*, neere which our men are seated; about fifty or sixty leagues to the North-East) inhabiting a soile unfit to produce that Countrey graine, being the more hardy people, were accustomed yearely at harvest to come down in their Canoes, and reape their fields, and carry away their Corne, and destroy their people, which wonderfully weakened, and kept them low in times past: from this evill our neighbourhood hath wholy freed them, and consequently secured their persons and estates, which makes the Natives there so glad of our company." *The Planters Plea*, *27. See Godfrey, in *1 Maine Hist. Coll.*, VII. 93, and Wood, *New Englands Prospect*, *51.

[2] With the first meeting with the Indians at Patuxet [new Plymouth] the trade in furs began. Before Samoset had ended his first night's stay, he was urged to bring in the neighboring Indians "with such Beuers skins as they had to trucke with vs." The severe winter so occupied the settlers that little attention could be given to trade other than in corn, but with the summer came the opportunity to give it consideration. Through Massasoit they sought to organize a trade in beaver with the tribes and settlements under his authority, and Tisquantum was employed by him to spread his orders. Mourt, *33, 45, 46. The English now used Tisquantum in securing trade with the Indians on Massachusetts Bay. Beaver skins constituted the basis of all commerce with the Indians. The savages used them on their beds, as hangings in the wigwam, as clothing, as presents among themselves, and even as gifts or offerings to their dead. To them the skins served as a medium of exchange and the chief article of wealth. Francis Kirby, in June, 1632, described to John Winthrop, Jr., the various qualities of beaver skins. 3 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, IX. 247.

the Lord, who assignes to all men the bounds of their habitations, had apoynted it for an other use).[1] And thus they found the Lord to be with them in all their ways, and to blesse their outgoings and incommings, for which let his holy name have the praise for ever, to all posteritie.

They begane now to gather in the small harvest they had, and to fitte up their houses and dwellings against winter, being all well recovered in health and strenght, and had all things in good plenty; for as some were thus imployed in affairs abroad, others were excersised in fishing, aboute codd, and bass, and other fish,[2] of which they tooke good store, of which every family had their portion. All the sommer ther was no wante. And now begane to come in store of foule, as winter aproached, of which this place did abound when they came first (but afterward decreased by degrees). And besides water foule, ther was great store of wild Turkies,[3] of which they tooke many, besides venison, etc. Besides they had aboute a peck

[1] Mourt, *57, should be read for a more full account of this expedition to the Massachusetts.

[2] Smith noted that cod was abundant on the coast in March, April, May and half of June; from May to September, mullet and sturgeon could be had; and from the end of August to November the cod returned. The Newfoundland fisheries were chiefly in June and July. *Description of New England*, *35.

[3] Champlain saw no turkeys, but the Indians described them in such a way as to identify them, as a bird as large as a buzzard which came when the corn was ripe. They had a kind of hair under the throat, and a red crest falling over the beak. Higginson reported them as "farre greater than our English Turkies, and exceeding fat, sweet, and fleshy, for here they haue aboundance of feeding all the yeere long." *New England Plantation.* Wood was enthusiastic over turkey hunting in winter, ten or a dozen being sometimes killed in half a day. *New Englands Prospect*, *32. Josselyn remarks upon the growing scarcity of the bird, "the *English* and the *Indians* hauing now destroyed the breed, so that 't is very rare to meet with a wild *Turkie* in the Woods; But some of the *English* bring up great store of the wild kind, which remain about their Houses as tame as ours in *England*." *New England's Rarities*, *42. Modern ornithologists have suggested that this wild turkey, or *Meleagris Americana*, long since became extinct, and the domesticated turkey, *Meleagris gallopavo*, was brought in from Mexico or the West Indies.

a meale a weeke to a person, or now since harvest, Indean corne to that proportion. Which made many afterwards write so largely of their plenty hear to their freinds in England, which were not fained, but true reports.[1]

In November, about that time twelfe month that them selves came, ther came in a small ship to them unexpected or loked for,[2] in which came Mr. Cushman (so much spoken of before) and with him ·35· persons to remaine and live in the plantation; which did not a litle rejoyce them.[3] And they when they came a shore and found all well, and saw plenty of vitails in every house, were no less glade. For most of them were lusty yong men, and many of them wild enough, who litle considered whither or aboute what they wente, till they came into the harbore at Cap-Codd, and ther saw nothing but

[1] "Reference is here made, doubtless, to letters of Winslow and Hilton, sent to England by the *Fortune*, in which they give a flattering description of the country, and speak of the colony as in a prosperous condition. 'We are so far free from want,' writes the former, 'that we often wish you partakers of our plenty.' Winslow's letter was printed in Mourt's *Relation*, which was probably sent over at the same time. Hilton's letter first appeared in [Smith] *New Englands Trials*." DEANE. The letter of Hilton will be found in Morton, *New Englands Memoriall* (Davis ed.), 377. *Infra*, p. 240.

[2] She came the ·9· to the Cap. — BRADFORD.

[3] Smith in his *New Englands Trials* gives an account of this voyage of the *Fortune*. In May, 1621, "they sent another [ship, the *Fortune*] of 55 Tunnes to supply them [the settlers], with 37 persons, they set saile in the beginning of July, but being crossed by Westerly winds, it was the end of August ere they could passe *Plimmoth*, and ariued at *New Plimmouth* in *New England* the eleuenth of Nouember, where they found all the people they left in April, as is said, lustie and in good health, except six that died. Within a moneth they returned here for *England*, laded with clapboord, wainscot and walnut, with about three hogsheads of Beuer skins and some Saxefras, the 13 of December, and drawing neare our coast, was taken by a Frenchman, set out by the Marquis of *Cera*, Gouernour of *Ile Deu* [*Dieu*] on the coast of *Poytou*, where they kept the ship, imprisoned the Master and companie, took from them to the value of about 500 pounds and after 14 days sent them home with a poore supply of victuall, their owne being devoured by the Marquis and his hungry seruants; they ariued at London the 14 of Februarie." The version given in the *Generall Historie*, 234, differs in language. See p. 268, *infra*. The master of the *Fortune* was Thomas Barton.

a naked and barren place. They then began to thinke what should become of them, if the people here were dead or cut of by the Indeans. They began to consulte (upon some speeches that some of the sea-men had cast out) to take the sayls from the yeard least the ship [66] should gett away and leave them ther. But the m[aste]r hereing of it, gave them good words, and tould them if any thing but well should have befallne the people hear, he hoped he had vitails enough to cary them to Virginia, and whilst he had a bitt they should have their parte; which gave them good satisfaction. So they were all landed;[1] but ther was not so much as bisket-cake[2] or any other [a] victialls for them, neither had they any beding, but

[1] The following list of passengers by the *Fortune* who received allotments of land in 1623 is taken from *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, XII. 5, where the location of the lots is also indicated. The names marked with a † did not share in the division of cattle in 1627, and had probably died or removed in the interval.

John Adams	1 acre	Robert Hickes	1 acre
William Bassite	2	William Hilton†	1
William Beale†	1	Bennet Morgan†	1
Edward Bompass	1	Thomas Morton†	1
Jonathan Brewster	1	Austin Nicolas	1
Clemente Briggs	1	William Palmer	2
John Cannon†	1	William Pitt†	1
William Conner†	1	Thomas Prence	1
Thomas Cushman	1	Moyses Simonson	1
Steven Dean	1	Hugh Statie	1
Philipe de la Noye	1	James Steward†	1
Thomas Flavell†	1	William Tench†	1
Flavell	1	John Winslow	1
Foord†	4; sons John and William†, d. Martha.	William Wright	1

[2] A bread, twice baked, and made without leaven or salt, the fore-runner of hard-tack. The making of ship-biscuit was a distinct trade in London, and the product was also supplied to the troops. Breadstreet, however, which owed its name to the bakers, appears to have been confined to the houses of the wealthy. In 1600 Bakers Hall was in Hart lane, in Tower Street Ward, conveniently situated near the river.

[a] Nay, they were faine to spare the shipe some to carry her home. — BRADFORD.

some sory things they had in their cabins, nor pot, nor pan, to drese any meate in; nor over many cloaths, for many of them had brusht away their coats and cloaks at Plimouth as they came. But ther was sent over some burching-lane[1] suits in the ship, out of which they were supplied. The plantation was glad of this addition of strenght, but could have wished that many of them had been of beter condition, and all of them beter furnished with provissions; but that could not now be helpte.

In this ship Mr. Weston sent a large leter to Mr. Carver, the late Gove[rno]r, now deseased, full of complaints and expostulations aboute former passagess at Hampton; and the keeping the shipe so long in the country, and returning her without lading, etc., which for brevitie I omite. The rest is as followeth.

Part of Mr. Weston's letter.

I durst never aquainte the adventure[r]s with the alterations of the conditions first agreed on betweene us, which I have since been very glad of, for I am well assured had they knowne as much as I doe, they would not have adventured a halfe-peny of what was necesary for this ship. That you sent no lading in the ship is wonderfull, and worthily distasted. I know your weaknes was the cause of it, and I beleeve more weaknes of judgmente, then weaknes of hands. A quarter of the time you spente in discoursing, arguing, and consulting, would have done much more; but that is past, etc. If you mean, bona fide,

[1] Stow, *Survey of London* (Kingsford ed.), states that the Hosiers were originally in Hosier lane, near Smithfield; from that place they moved into Cordwainer Street, and thence into "Birchouerislane" by Cornhill; "so called of Birchouer, the first builder and owner thereof, now corruptly called Birchin lane, the North halfe whereof is of the said Cornehill warde, the other part is of Langborne warde. This lane, and the high streete neare adioyning, hath beene inhabited for the most part with wealthie Drapers, from Birchouers lane on that side the streete downe to the Stockes: in the raigne of Henrie the sixt, had yee for the most part dwelling Fripperers or Vpholders, that solde olde apparell and householde stuffe." I. 81, 198.

Come traveler from Turkey, Roome, or Spaine,
And take a sute of trust in Birchin Lane.
Rowland, *Melancholie Knight*, 21.

to performe the conditions agreed upon, doe us the favore to coppy them out faire, and subscribe them with the principall of your names. And likwise give us accounte as perticulerly as you can how our moneys were laid out.[1] And then I shall be able to give them some satisfaction, whom I am now forsed with good words to shift of. And consider that the life of the bussines depends on the lading of this ship,which, if you doe to any good purpose, that I may be freed from the great *sums I have disbursed for the former, and must doe for the later, I promise you I will never quit the bussines, though all the other adventurers should.* [67]

We have procured you a Charter, the best we could, which is beter then your former, and with less limitation.[2] For any thing that is els

[1] The accounts were in chief part kept by Christopher Martin, whose sensitiveness in regard to them is recorded on p. 142, *supra*. As Martin was now dead, the accounts had probably fallen into confusion.

[2] A patent to John Peirce and his associates was sealed by the Virginia Company of London, February 2, 1619–20. It could apply only to Virginia. Under this patent the Pilgrims sailed for Virginia, and the landing in New England rendered it "void and useless." It became necessary to obtain a new patent, and from the company having jurisdiction over New England. The complication was explained to Weston, by letters sent in the *Mayflower*, which returned to England in May. He then applied to the newly recognized Council for New England. Emboldened by his success in overcoming the opposition to his Company, Gorges and his associates issued their first patent on June 1, 1621, to Peirce and his associates. This led to the recall by the Virginia Company of its patent to Peirce (*supra*, p. 95), unless he should still intend to begin a plantation within the limits of the Southern company. *Records of the Virginia Company*, I. 515. In the mean time Parliament had assembled, and instituted an enquiry into "monopolies" granted by the crown. The patent made to Gorges fell into this enquiry, as it created a monopoly, of which its holders intended to make full use, in spite of their protestations to the contrary. *Colonial Hist. of New York*, III. 5; Gorges, *Briefe Relation*,* 10, 34. Three times did Gorges appear before Parliament, but could not quiet the opposition. The House presented the patent as a public grievance, and Gorges sorrowfully records that in consequence of this action "this their public declaration of the House's dislike of the cause shook off all my adventurers for plantation, and made many of the patentees to quit their interest." Gorges, rendered prudent by the growing difference between the King and Parliament, forebore to claim his full rights, but did succeed in gaining advantage for his own schemes.

The Peirce patent, "probably the oldest document in Massachusetts officially connected with her history" (DEANE), is in the collection of the Pilgrim Society at

worth writting, Mr. Cushman can informe you. I pray write instantly for Mr. Robinson to come to you. And so praying God to blesse you with all graces nessessary both for this life and that to come, I rest

Your very loving frend,

THO. WESTON.

London, July 6. 1621.

This ship (caled the Fortune) was speedily dispacht away, being laden with good clapbord [1] as full as she could stowe, and ·2· hoggsheads of beaver and otter skins, which they gott with a few trifling comodities brought with them at first, being all to geether unprovided for trade; neither was ther any amongst them that ever saw a beaver skin till they came hear, and were informed by Squanto. The fraight was estimated to be worth near 500 *li.* Mr. Cushman returned backe also with this ship,[2] for so Mr. Weston and the rest

Plymouth, Mass. The full text is given on p. 246, *infra.* As to Peirce ever being in New England, see 1 *Maine Hist. Coll.*, 1. 38 *n.*

[1] At this time clapboard meant a smaller size of split oak, imported from Germany, Denmark or Sweden, and used by coopers for making barrel-staves. Bailey's *Dictionary* (1725) defines clapboard as a "board cut ready to make casks." In this sense the word has passed out of usage in England. It was not applied to wainscoting until later, and as a board used to cover the roof or sides of a house, each board being made to overlap that below it, the term has been used only in the United States. In Stow's time a building constructed by shipwrights in Tower Street Ward had a roof and wall of "Boordes not exceeding the length of a Clapboord, about an inch thicke, euery Boorde ledging ouer other, as in a Ship or Gallie." He looked upon it as a "strange kind of building," and from the notice he gives of it, the construction must have been as novel as it was recent. *Survey of London* (Kingsford), 1. 137. See note in Morton, *New English Canaan* (Prince Society), 182.

[2] Before sailing, and on December 12, Cushman delivered, in the "Common House" a sermon on the text 1 Cor. x. 24, "Let no man seek his own; but every man anothers wealth." First printed in London in 1622, it was the first sermon delivered in New England to be printed. It has since been reprinted many times. In the foreword, addressed "to his loving Friends and Adventurers for New England," he gives a very favorable account of the plantation, especially in its relations with the Indians. He came as an agent of Weston to induce the planters to enter into an agreement with Weston. And he takes the opportunity of a sermon to preach self-

had apoynted him, for their better information. And he doubted not, nor them selves neither, but they should have a speedy supply; considering allso how by Mr. Cushmans perswation, and letters received from Leyden, wherin they willed them so to doe, they yeel[d]ed to the afforesaid conditions, and subscribed them with their hands. But it proved other wise, for Mr. Weston, who had made that large promise in his leter, (as is before noted,) that if all the rest should fall of, yet he would never quit the bussines, but stick to them, if they yeelded to the conditions, and sente some lading in the ship; and of this Mr. Cushman was confident, and confirmed the same from his mouth, and serious protestations to him

denial and submission to what Weston desired. A single quotation will develop his main argument.

"The country is yet raw, the land untilled, the cities not builded, the cattel not settled, we are compassed about with a helpless and idle people, the natives of the country, which cannot in any comely or comfortable manner help themselves, much less us. We also have been very chargeable to many of our loving friends, which helped us hither, and now again supplied us, so that before we think of gathering riches, we must even in conscience think of requiting their charge, love and labor, and cursed be that profit and gain which aimeth not at this." To the planters he presented a hopeful picture of future reward:

"And you my loving friends the adventurers to this plantation; as your care has been, first to settle religion here, before either profit or popularity, so I pray you, go on, to do it much more, and be careful to send godly men, though they want some of that worldly policy which this world hath in her own generation, and so though you lose, the Lord shall gain. I rejoice greatly in your free and ready minds to your powers, yea, and beyond your powers to further this work, that you thus honor God with your riches, and I trust you shall be repaid again double and treble in this world, yea, and the memory of this action shall never die, but above all adding unto this (as I trust you do) like freeness in all other God's services both at home and abroad, you shall find reward with God, ten thousand-fold surpassing all that you can do or think; be not therefore discouraged, for no labor is lost nor money spent which is bestowed for God, your ends are good, your success is good, and your profit is coming, even in this life, and in the life to come much more." Cushman's preface to his *Sermon*. The printed sermon, as the product of one not ordained to preach, received notice at the hands of W. Rathband, in his *Brief Narration of some Church Courses . . . in New England*, p. 46, where the "preacher" is said to have been a "comber of wooll," a sign pointing to Cushman. See 2 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, III. 404 *n.*

A SERMON PREACHED AT PLIMMOTH IN NEVV-ENGLAND

December 9. 1621.

In an aſſemblie of his *Maieſties faithfull Subiects, there inhabiting.*

VVHEREIN IS SHEVVED the danger of ſelfe-loue, and the ſweetneſſe of true Friendſhip.

TOGETHER

VVITH A PREFACE,

Shewing the ſtate of the Country, *and Condition of the* SAVAGES.

ROM. 12. 10.

Be affectioned to loue one another with brotherly loue.

Written in the yeare 1621.

LONDON

Printed by *I. D.* for IOHN BELLAMIE, and are to be ſold at his ſhop at the two Grey-hounds in Corne-hill; neere the *Royall Exchange.* 1622.

selfe before he came. But all proved but wind, for he was the first and only man that forsooke them, and that before he so much as heard of the returne of this ship, or knew what was done; (so vaine is the confidence in man.)[1] But of this more in its place.

A leter in answer to his write to Mr. Carver, was sente to him from the Gov[erno]r, of which so much as is pertenente to the thing in hand I shall hear inserte.

Sir, Your large letter writen to Mr. Carver, and dated the ·6· of July, 1621, I have received the ·10· of Novemb[e]r, wherin (after the apologie made for your selfe) you lay many heavie imputations upon him and us all. Touching him, he is departed this life, and now is at rest [68] in the Lord from all those troubles and incoumbrances with which we are yet to strive. He needs not my appologie; for his care and pains was so great for the commone good, both ours and yours, as that therwith (it is thought) he oppressed him selfe and shortened his days; of whose loss we cannot sufficiently complaine. At great charges in this adventure, I confess you have beene, and many losses may sustaine; but the loss of his and many other honest and industrious mens lives, cannot be vallewed at any prise. Of the one, ther may be hope of recovery, but the other no recompence can make good. But I will not insiste in generalls, but come more perticulerly to the things them selves. You greatly blame us for keping the ship so long in the countrie, and then to send her away emptie. She lay ·5· weks at Cap-Codd whilst with many a weary step (after a long journey) and the indurance of many a hard brunte, we sought out in the foule winter a place of habitation. Then we went in so tedious a time to make provission to sheelter us and our goods, aboute which labour, many of our armes and leggs can tell us to this day we were not necligent. But it pleased God to vissite us then, with death dayly, and with so generall a disease, that the living were scarce able to burie the dead; and the well

[1] "Private purses are cowld compfortes to adventurers, and have ever been founde fatall to all enterprices hitherto undertaken by the English, by reason of delaies, jelocies, and unwillingness to backe that project which succeeds not at the first attempt." *Reasons or Motives for the raising of a publique stock*, 1607–08. The entire paper will be found in Neill, *Virginia Vetusta*, 27.

not in any measure sufficente to tend the sick. And now to be so greatly blamed, for not fraighting the ship, doth indeed goe near us, and much discourage us. But you say, you know we will pretend weaknes; and doe you think we had not cause? Yes, you tell us you beleeve it, but it was more weaknes of judgmente, then of hands. Our weaknes herin is great we confess, therfore we will bear this check patiently amongst the rest, till God send us wiser men. But they which tould you we spent so much time in discoursing and consulting, etc., their harts can tell their toungs, they lye. They cared not, so they might salve their owne sores, how they wounded others. Indeede, it is our callamitie that we are (beyound expectation) yoked with some ill conditioned people, who will never doe good, but corrupte and abuse others, etc.

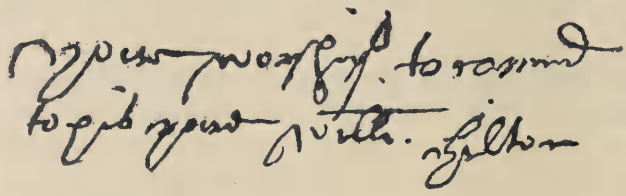
The rest of the letter declared how they had subscribed those conditions according to his desire, and sente him the former accounts very perticulerly; also how the ship was laden, and in what condition their affairs stood; that the coming of these [69] people would bring famine upon them unavoydably, if they had not supply in time (as Mr. Cushman could more fully informe him and the rest of the adventurers). Also that seeing he was now satisfied in all his demands, that offences would be forgoten, and he remember his promise, etc.

After the departure of this ship, (which stayed not above ·14· days,) the Gove[rno]r and his assistante haveing disposed these late commers into severall families, as they best could, tooke an exacte accounte of all their provissions in store, and proportioned the same to the number of persons, and found that it would not hould out above ·6· months at halfe alowance, and hardly that. And they could not well give less this winter time till fish came in againe. So they were presently put to half alowance, one as well as an other, which begane to be hard, but they bore it patiently under hope of supply.[1]

[1] The actual situation of the settlers did not agree wholly with the glowing report

Sone after this ships departure, the great people of the Narigansets, in a braving maner, sente a messenger unto them with a bundle of arrows tyed aboute with a great sneak-skine; which

of William Hilton, a passenger in the *Fortune*. Writing in November or December, 1621, he said: "At our ariuall at *New Plimmoth* in *New England*, we found all our friends and planters in good health, though they were left sicke and weake with very small meanes, the Indians round about vs peaceable and friendly, the country very pleasant



and temperate, yeelding naturally of itself great store of fruites, as vines of diuers sorts in great abundance; there is likewise walnuts, chesnuts, small nuts and plums, with much varietie of flowers, rootes, and herbs no lesse pleasant then wholsome and profitable: no place hath more goose-berries and straw-berries, nor better. Timber of all sorts you haue in *England*, doth couer the Land, that affoords beasts of diuers sorts, and great flocks of Turkies, Quailes Pigeons and Patriges: many great lakes abounding with fish, fowle, Beuers and Otters. The sea affoords vs as great plenty of all excellent sorts of sea-fish, as the riuers and Iles doth varietie of wilde fowle of most vsefull sorts. Mines we find to our thinking, but neither the goodnesse nor qualitie we know. Better grain cannot be then the Indean corne, if we will plant it vpon as good ground as a man need desire. We are all free-holders, the rent day doth not trouble vs, and all those good blessings we haue, of which and what we list in their seasons for taking. Our companie are for most part very religious honest people; the word of God sincerely taught vs every Sabbath: so that I know not any thing a contented mind can here want. I desire your friendly care to send my wife and children to me, where I wish all the friends I haue in England." Smith, *New Englands Trials*, 13.

Pratt laid the blame on the letters received from New England. "Som Indescret men, hoping to incoridg thayr freinds to Come to them, writ Letters Conserning the great plenty of Fish fowle and deare. . . . The Adventvrers, willing to saf thayr Monys, sent them weekly provided of vicktualls, as Many moor after them did the lyke; and that was the great Cause of famine." Narrative, 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, IV. 477. Winslow said the same of the scant supply of provisions sent by the *Fortune*. "Neither were the setters forth thereof altogether to be blamed therein: but rather certain amongst ourselves, who were too prodigal in their writing and reporting of that plenty we enjoyed." *Good Newes*,*11. Winslow himself had not been without blame in the glowing accounts of plenty at hand. He now explained that everything must be

their interpretours tould them was a threatening and a chaleng.[1] Upon which the Gov[erno]r, with the advice of others, sente them a round answere, that if they had rather have warre then peace, they might begine when they would; they had done them no wrong, neither did they fear them, or should they find them unprovided. And by another messenger sente the sneake skine back with bulits in it; but they would not receive it, but sent it back againe.[2] But

expected in its proper season, and had not the settlers been in a place when shell-fish could be taken with the hand, they would have perished. The months of their extremities were May and June.

Such favorable reports were not confined to New England. Virginia in her early days suffered from the same cause, and one of the charges made against the Sandys faction was "the practice of sending 'double and contradictory letters' from the chief officers of the Colony to the Company, those sent officially giving 'assurance of abundance,' and those sent privately asking for 'large supplies,' so that many persons were 'allured to go over' on false pretences. The spreading of false rumors, and publication of letters, books, and ballads describing the 'happy estate of the Plantation, which was most unreasonably put in practice this last Lent, when the colony was in most extreme misery.'" *Hist. Mss. Com.*, VIII. pt. II. 43.

[1] This message was sent by Canonicus, the great sachem of the Narragansetts, by an Indian, who was accompanied by the friendly Indian Tokamahamon. As both Tisquantum and Hobbamock were absent when this messenger arrived at Plymouth, the Governor determined to hold him against their return, and in the mean time entrusted him for safe-keeping to Standish, who hoped to extract from him the meaning of the sending. Tokamahamon could only say that he thought, but could not certainly tell, that it meant hostilities. Standish and Hopkins succeeded in allaying the fears of the messenger and learned "that the messenger which his master [Canonicus] sent in summer to treat of peace, at his return persuaded him rather to war; and to the end he might provoke him thereunto, (as appeared to him by our reports,) detained many of the things [which] were sent to him by our Governor, scorning the meanness of them both in respect of what himself had formerly sent, and also of the greatness of his own person; so that he much blamed the former messenger, saying, that upon the knowledge of this his false carriage, it would cost him his life, but assured us that upon his relation of our speech then with him to his master, he would be friends with us." Winslow, *Good Newes*, *2. It was Tisquantum who interpreted the message intended by the arrows and skins. Hubbard calls attention to a similar message of arrows sent by the Scythians to Darius. *History*, 69.

[2] In reply Bradford sent a defiant message with the powder and shot, assuring Canonicus "if he had shipping now present, thereby to send his men to Nanohiggan-

these things I doe but mention, because they are more at large allready put forth in printe, by Mr. Winslow, at the requeste of some freinds.[1] And it is like the reason was their owne ambition, who, (since the death of so many of the Indeans,) thought to dominire and lord it over the rest, and conceived the English would be a barr in their way, and saw that Massasoyt took sheilter allready under their wings.[2]

set, (the place of his abode,) they should not need to come so far by land to us; yet withal showing that they should never come unwelcome or unlooked for. This message was sent by an Indian, and delivered in such sort, as it was no small terror to this savage king; insomuch as he would not once touch the powder and shot, or suffer it to stay in his home or country. Whereupon the messenger refusing it, another took it up; and having been posted from place to place a long time, at length came whole back again." Winslow, *Good Newes*, *3.

[1] *Good Newes from New England: or A true Relation of things very remarkable at the Plantation of Plimoth in Nevv-England*, 1624. Two impressions of the tract appear to have been issued in London in this year, the second containing some additional matter: "wherevnto is added by him a briefe Relation of a credible intelligence of the present estate of Virginia."

A copy of Winslow's *Good Newes from New England*, probably once a part of the Prince library, came into the hands of John Adams. By him it was left, together with the rest of his collection, to the town of Quincy and the Adams Academy. The collection is now deposited in the Public Library of Boston, and in this copy of Winslow are many manuscript annotations by Prince. On a fly-leaf he says, after collating Bradford and Morton, "By which it seems he [Winslow] must have left London in the beginning of February, and must have printed his relation there between the end of October, 1623, and the end of January, 1623–4; and I know it is the custom of the London printers to begin the year on their books at Michaelmas, so that after Sept. 29, 1623, they will date them at the bottom of the titlepage, 1624." 1 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, xx. 229.

[2] Notwithstanding the desire of peace shown by the Narragansetts in the summer of 1621, there was common talk among the Indians of their preparations against the English in the late fall of that year. Though the *Fortune* added thirty-five settlers to Plymouth, it did not really increase the strength of that place, because the new settlers brought neither arms nor provisions, and bore heavily upon the resources of the planters. A knowledge of this weakness encouraged the Indians, and "occasioned them to slight and brave us with so many threats as they did." The hostility of the Narragansetts appears to have been assumed almost from the first year of settlements. They were the most numerous of the coast tribes, having been lightly touched

GOOD NEWES FROM NEW-ENGLAND:

OR

A true Relation of things very remarkable at the Plantation of *Plimoth* in NEW-ENGLAND.

Shewing the wondrous providence and goodnes of GOD, in their preservation and continuance, *being delivered from many apparant deaths and dangers.*

Together with a Relation of such religious and civill Lawes and Customes, as are in practise amongst the *Indians*, adjoyning to them at this day. As also *what Commodities are there to be raysed for the maintenance of that and other Plantations in the said Country.*

Written by *E. W.* who hath borne a part in the fore-named troubles, and there liued since their first Arrivall.

Whereunto is added by him a briefe Relation of a credible intelligence of the present estate of *Virginia.*

LONDON

Printed by *I. D.* for *William Bladen* and *John Bellamie*, and are to be sold at their Shops, at the *Bible* in *Pauls*-Churchyard, and at the three Golden Lyons in Corn-hill, neere the *Royall Exchange.* 1624.

But this made them the more carefully to looke to them selves, so as they agreed to inclose their dwellings with a good strong pale, and make flankers in convenient places, with gates to shute, which were every night locked, and a watch kept, and when neede required ther was also warding in the day time.[1] And the company was by the Captaine and the Gov[erno]r [70] advise, devided into ·4· squadrons, and every one had ther quarter apoynted them, unto which they were to repaire upon any suddane alarme. And if ther should be any crie of fire, a company were appointed for a gard, with muskets, whilst others quenchet the same, to prevent Indean treachery.[2] This was accomplished very cherfully, and the towne impayled round by the begining of March, in which evry family had a prety garden plote secured. And herewith I shall end this year. Only I shall remember one passage more, rather of mirth then of waight. One the day called Chrismas-day, the Gov[erno]r caled them out to worke, (as was used,) but the most of this new-company ex-

by the disease that swept away their neighbors. They were warlike and ambitious, feared by the weaker tribes, like the Pokanokets and the Massachusetts, but were themselves held in check by the Pequots on the west. They could bring into the field a large number of warriors, though the figures given by some are doubtless exaggerated, and must be received with caution. It is only natural that they should look with alarm and suspicion upon a possible alliance between their enemies and the English, and seek to prevent its being made. In the jealousy existing between the two Indians at Plymouth Hobbamock claimed that the Massachusetts were joined in a confederacy with the Narragansetts against the English, and that Tisquantum was in the plot. See p. 252, *infra*.

[1] In this defense they took in the top of the hill (Fort, and later Burial Hill,) under which the town was seated, "making four bulwarks or jetties without the ordinary circuit of the pale, from whence we could defend the whole town; in three whereof are gates, and the fourth in time to be." There was a general muster or training held, the first in New England, and each commander "drew his company to his appointed place for defence, and there together discharged their muskets. After which they brought their new commanders to their houses, where again they graced them with their shot, and so departed." Winslow, *Good Newes*, *4. This was done in February and March, 1622.

[2] "If the fire were in any of the houses of this guard, they were to be freed from it; but not otherwise, without special command." Winslow, *Good Newes*, *5.

cused them selves and said it wente against their consciences to work on that day.[1] So the Gov[erno]r tould them that if they made it mater of conscience, he would spare them till they were better informed. So he led-away the rest and left them; but when they came home at noone from their worke, he found them in the streete at play, openly; some pitching the barr, and some at stooleball, and shuch like sports.[2] So he went to them, and tooke away

[1] Mourt, *24, shows there was no observance of the day in 1620. "We went on shore, some to fell tymber, some to saw, some to rive, and some to carry, so no man rested all that day."

The observation of Christmas Day in England was appointed by Statute 5 and 6 Edward VI c. 3, but the Puritans regarded it as abused by superstition and profaneness, and as one of other pagan or popish festivals. Ainsworth says in his *Arrow against Idolatrie:* "Our purple Queen hath made many moe holy dayes then ther be monethes (that I say not weeks) of the yere, in honour of her Ladie and all her Saincts, and these some of them correspondent to the paynim festivities, as Christmas, Candlemas, Fasgon or Shrovetide, according to the times and customes of the gentiles Saturnal, Februal and Bacchus feasts" (Ed. 1640, p. 156). Even in England observance of the day was not general, as the Bishop of Norwich showed: "Some of the aldermen went to church in their scarlets, and some would not; some opened their shops, and some shut them up; some eat flesh on that day, and others eat fish." Strype, *Life of Archbishop Parker.*[ ] For the revels that were held on Christmas, see Love, *Fast and Thanksgiving Days of New England*, 24. In Holland the Dutch Reformed church kept the day, but associated with it in New Netherlands was a festival with common sports, such as bowling, dancing, ball playing and the like. New England held days of fasts and days of thanksgiving, and not until the latter part of the seventeenth century were Christmas and other holidays observed. Sewall, *Diary*, under *Christmas*.

[2] Stool-ball, an ancient game played by both sexes, and in which balls are driven from stool to stool. By the Puritans "all games where there is any hazard of loss are strictly forbidden; not so much as a game at stool-ball for a Tansay, or a cross and pyle for the odd penny at a reckoning, upon pain of damnation." Lewis, *English Presbyterian Eloquence*, 17. The attitude of the Puritan towards sports was exemplified by the history of the *Declaration of Sports*, as told by Rev. Dr. Slafter in 2 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, XIX. 86. Issued first by James I to counteract the extreme position taken by the Puritans on the proper observation of the Jewish Sabbath, the opposition it aroused proved sufficient to prevent a general enforcement. The *Declaration* remained in abeyance until October 18, 1633, when it was, under Laud's persuasion, republished by Charles I. "As yet the only notion of liberty entertained by

their implements, and tould them that was against his conscience, that they should play and others worke. If they made the keeping of it mater of devotion, let them kepe their houses, but ther should be no gameing or revelling in the streets. Since which time nothing hath been atempted that way, at least openly.

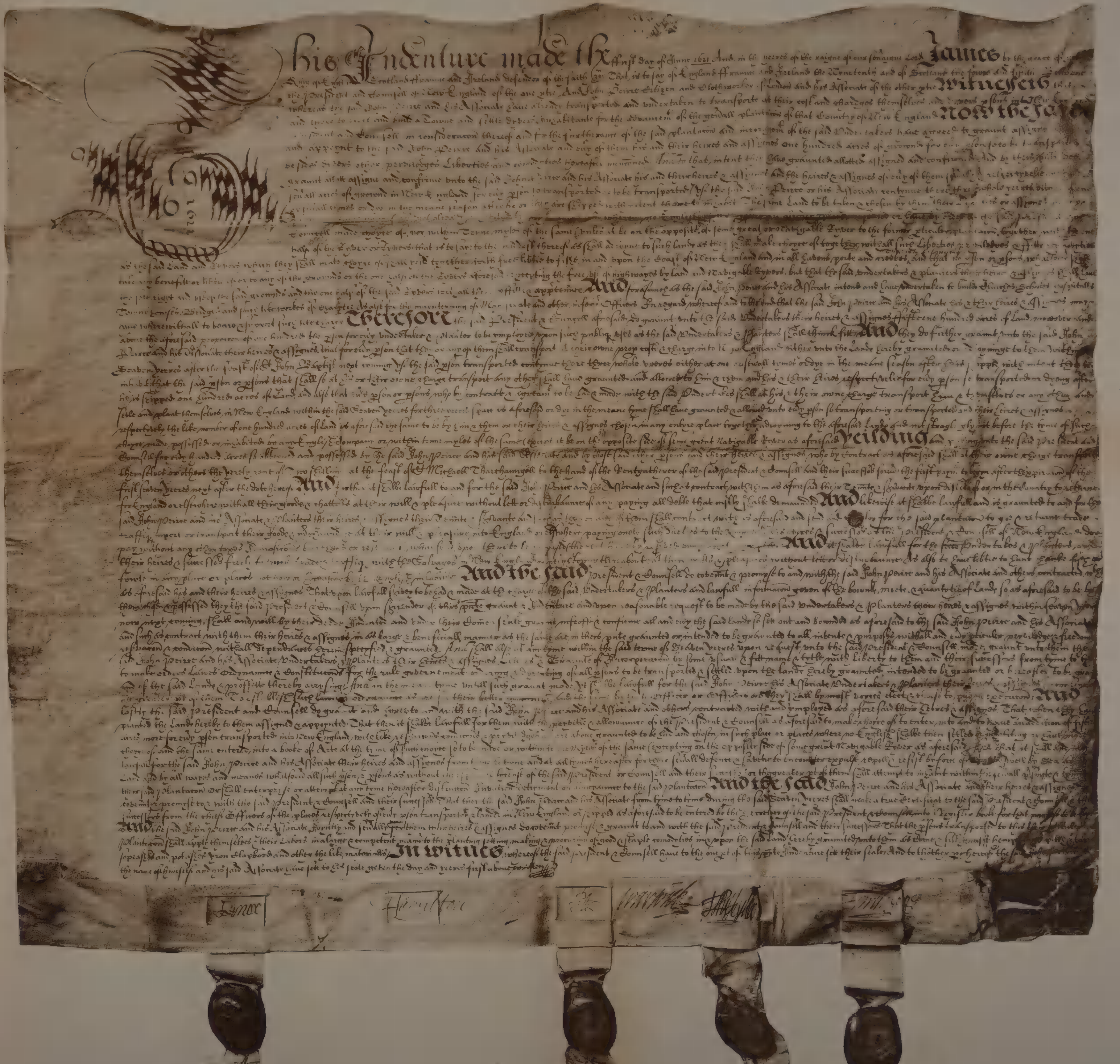
NOTE.

THE PEIRCE PATENT.

This Indenture made the First Day of June 1621 And in the yeeres of the raigne of our soueraigne Lord James by the grace of god King of England Scotland Fraunce and Ireland defendor of the faith etc. That is to say of England Fraunce and Ireland the Nynetenth and of Scotland the fowre and fiftith. Betwene the President and Counsell of New England of the one partie And John Peirce Citizen and Clothworker of London and his Associates of the other partie Witnesseth that whereas the said John Peirce and his Associates haue already transported and vndertaken to transporte at their cost and chardges themselves and dyvers persons into New England and there to erect and build a Towne and settle dyvers Inhabitantes for the advancem[en]t of the generall plantac̃on of that Country of New England Now the sayde President and Counsell in considerac̃on thereof and for the furtherance of the said

either of the church parties was the removal of restrictions which the opposite party considered it all-important to impose. The Puritan objected to the compulsory observance of the Laudian ceremonies. Laud objected to the compulsory observation of the Puritan Sabbath." Gardiner, *History of England*, VII. 321.

The temper of the Puritan clergy on this subject is illustrated by the charge brought against Charles Chauncy, who later came to Plymouth. "In your sermons as other priuate discourses, you haue much slighted and detracted from the power and authority of the Church, and haue both publiquely and priuately affirmed and sayd, that the Church hath power to appoynt dayes for fasts and prayers, but that they find not the conscience, but are indifferent, which causeth many to worke on holy dayes openly, contrary to the lawes and Cannons of our Church, and pressing that matter a little further then sound Judgment in Diuinity or discretion would haue ledd you, you sayd that there be many thousand soules damned in hell for their gaminge and Revellinge in xij dayes at Christmass tyme, and that the Damned in hell doe curse the birth of our Saviour Christ, and the Church for Institutinge the celebrac̃on thereof, or you haue sayd like wordes in effect and substance, to the great admirac̃on and astonishment of the hearers." *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, XIII. 339.



PATENT ISSUED TO JOHN PEIRCE, 1621.

plantac̃on and incoragem[en]t of the said Vndertakers haue agreed to graunt assigne allott and appoynt to the said John Peirce and his associates and euery of them his and their heires and assignes one hundred acres of grownd for euery person so to be transported besides dyvers other pryviledges Liberties and commodyties hereafter menc̃oned. And to that intent they haue graunted allotted assigned and confirmed, And by theis pre[sen]ntes doe graunt allott assigne and confirme vnto the said John Peirce and his Associates his and their heires and assignes and the heires and assignes of euery of them seuerally and respectyvelie one hundred seuerall acres of grownd in New England for euery person so transported or to be transported, Yf the said John Peirce or his Associates contynue there three whole yeeres either at one or seuerall tymes or dye in the meane season after he or they are shipped with intent there to inhabit. The same Land to be taken and chosen by them their deputies or assignes in any place or places whersoeuer not already inhabited by any English and where no English person or persons are already placed or settled or haue by order of the said President and Councell made choyce of, nor within Tenne myles of the same, vnles it be the opposite syde of some great or Navigable Ryver to the former particuler plantac̃on, together with the one half of the Ryver or Ryvers, that is to say to the middest thereof as shall adioyne to such landes as they shall make choyce of together with all such Liberties pryviledges proffittes and commodyties as the said Land and Ryvers which they shall make choyce of shall yeild together with free libertie to fishe in and vpon the Coast of New England and in all havens portes and creekes Therevnto belonging and that no person or persons whatsoeuer shall take any benefitt or libertie of or to any of the grownds or the one half of the Ryvers aforesaid, excepting the free vse of highwayes by land and Navigable Ryvers, but that the said vndertakers and planters their heires and assignes shall haue the sole right and vse of the said grownds and the one half of the said Ryvers with all their proffittes and appurtennces. And forasmuch as the said John Peirce and his associates intend and haue vndertaken to build Churches, Schooles, Hospitalls Towne howses, Bridges and such like workes of Charytie As also for the maynteyning of Magistrates and other inferior Officers, In regard whereof and to the end that the said John Peirce and his Associates his and their heires and assignes may haue wherewithall to beare and support such like charges. Therefore the said President and Councell aforesaid do graunt vnto the said Vndertakers their heires and assignes Fifteene hundred acres of Land more over and aboue the aforesaid proporc̃on of one hundred the person for euery vndertaker and Planter to be ymployed

vpon such publique vses as the said Vndertakers and Planters shall thinck fitt. And they do further graunt vnto the said John Peirce and his Associates their heires and assignes, that for euery person that they or any of them shall transport at their owne proper costes and charges into New England either vnto the Lands hereby graunted or adioyninge to them within Seaven Yeeres after the feast of St. John Baptist next comming Yf the said person transported contynue there three whole yeeres either at one or seuerall tymes or dye in the meane season after he is shipped with intent there to inhabit that the said person or persons that shall so at his or their owne charges transport any other shall haue graunted and allowed to him and them and his and their heires respectyvelie for euery person so transported or dyeing after he is shipped one hundred acres of Land, and also that euery person or persons who by contract and agream[en]t to be had and made with the said Vndertakers shall at his and their owne charge transport him and themselves or any other and setle and plant themselves in New England within the said Seaven Yeeres for three yeeres space as aforesaid or dye in the meane tyme shall haue graunted and allowed vnto euery person so transporting or transported and their heires and assignes respectyvely the like nomber of one hundred acres of Land as aforesaid the same to be by him and them or their heires and assignes chosen in any entyre place together and adioyning to the aforesaid Landes and not straglingly not before the tyme of such choyce made possessed or inhabited by any English Company or within tenne myles of the same, except it be on the opposite side of some great Navigable Ryver as aforesaid Yeilding and paying vnto the said President and Counsell for euery hundred acres so obteyned and possessed by the said John Peirce and his said Associates and by those said other persons and their heires and assignes who by Contract as aforesaid shall at their owne charges transport themselves or others the Yerely rent of Two shillinges at the feast of St. Michaell Tharchaungell to the hand of the Rentgatherer of the said President and Counsell and their successors foreuer, the first paym[en]t to begyn after the expiracon of the first seaven Yeeres next after the date hereof And further it shal be lawfull to and for the said John Peirce and his Associates and such as contract with them as aforesaid their Tennantes and servantes vpon dislike of or in the Country to returne for England or elsewhere with all their goodes and chattells at their will and pleasure without lett or disturbaunce of any paying all debtes that iustly shalbe demaunded And likewise it shalbe lawfull and is graunted to and for the said John Peirce and his Associates and Planters their heires and assignes their Tennantes and servantes and such as they or any of

them shall contract with as aforesaid and send and ymploy for the said plantac̃on to goe and returne trade traffique inport or transport their goodes and merchaundize at their will and pleasure into England or elswhere paying onely such dueties to the Kinges ma[jes]tie his heires and succesors as the President and Counsell of New England doe pay without any other taxes Imposic̃ons burthens or restraintes whatsoeuer vpon them to be ymposed (the rent hereby reserved being onely excepted) And it shalbe lawfull for the said Vndertakers and Planters, their heires and successors freely to truck trade and traffique with the Salvages in New England or neighboring thereaboutes at their wills and pleasures without lett or disturbaunce. As also to haue libertie to hunt hauke fish or fowle in any place or places not now or hereafter by the English inhabited. And the said President and Counsell do covenant and promyse to and with the said John Peirce and his Associates and others contracted with as aforesaid his and their heires and assignes, That vpon lawfull survey to be had and made at the charge of the said Vndertakers and Planters and lawfull informac̃on geven of the bowndes, meetes, and quantytie of Land so as aforesaid to be by them chosen and possessed they the said President and Counsell vpon surrender of this p[rese]nte graunt and Indenture and vpon reasonable request to be made by the said Vndertakers and Planters their heires and assignes within seaven Yeeres now next coming, shall and will by their Deede Indented and vnder their Common seale graunt infeoffe and confirme all and euery the said landes so sett out and bownded as aforesaid to the said John Peirce and his Associates and such as contract with them their heires and assignes in as large and beneficiall manner as the same are in theis p[rese]ntes graunted or intended to be graunted to all intentes and purposes with all and euery particuler pryviledge and freedome reservac̃on and condic̃on with all dependances herein specyfied and graunted. And shall also at any tyme within the said terme of Seaven Yeeres vpon request vnto the said President and Counsell made, graunt vnto them the said John Peirce and his Associates Vndertakers and Planters their heires and assignes, Letters and Grauntes of Incorporac̃on by some vsuall and fitt name and tytle with Liberty to them and their successors from tyme to tyme to make orders Lawes Ordynaunces and Constituc̃ons for the rule governement ordering and dyrecting of all persons to be transported and settled vpon the landes hereby graunted, intended to be graunted or hereafter to be granted and of the said Landes and proffittes thereby arrysing. And in the meane tyme vntill such graunt made, Yt shalbe lawfull for the said John Peirce his Associates Vndertakers and Planters their heires and assignes by consent of the greater part of them

to establish such Lawes and ordynaunces as are for their better governem[en]t, and the same by such Officer or Officers as they shall by most voyces elect and choose to put in execucon And lastly the said President and Counsell do graunt and agree to and with the said John Peirce and his Associates and others contracted with and ymployed as aforesaid their heires and assignes, That when they haue planted the Landes hereby to them assigned and appoynted, That then it shalbe lawfull for them with the pryvitie and allowaunce of the President and Counsell as aforesaid to make choyce of and to enter into and to haue an addition of fiftie acres more for euery person transported into New England with like reservacons condicons and pryviledges as are aboue granted to be had and chosen in such place or places where no English shalbe then setled or inhabiting or haue made choyce of and the same entered into a booke of Actes at the tyme of such choyce so to be made or within tenne Myles of the same, excepting on the opposite side of some great Navigable Ryver as aforesaid. And that it shall and may be lawfull for the said John Peirce and his Associates their heires and assignes from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter for their seuerall defence and savetie to encounter expulse repell and resist by force of Armes aswell by Sea as by Land and by all wayes and meanes whatsoeuer all such person and persons as without the especiall lycense of the said President or Counsell and their successors or the greater part of them shall attempt to inhabit within the seuerall presinctes and lymmyttes of their said Plantacon, Or shall enterpryse or attempt at any tyme hereafter distruccon, Invation, detryment or annoyaunce to the said Plantacon. And the said John Peirce and his associates and their heires and assignes do covennant and promyse to and with the said President and Counsell and their successors, That they the said John Peirce and his Associates from tyme to tyme during the said Seaven Yeeres shall make a true Certificat to the said President and Counsell and their successors from the chief Officers of the places respectyvely of euery person transported and landed in New England or shipped as aforesaid to be entered by the Secretary of the said President and Counsell into a Register book for that purpose to be kept And the said John Peirce and his Associates Jointly and seuerally for them their heires and assignes do covennant promyse and graunt to and with the said President and Counsell and their successors That the persons transported to this their particuler Plantacon shall apply themselves and their Labors in a large and competent manner to the planting setting making and procuring of good and staple commodyties in and vpon the said Land hereby graunted vnto them as Corne and silkgrasse hemp flaxe pitch and tarre sope-

ashes and potashes Yron Clapbord and other the like materialls. In witnes whereof the said President and Counsell haue to the one part of this p[rese]nte Indenture sett their seales [1] And to th' other part hereof the said John Peirce in the name of himself and his said Associates haue sett to his seale geven the day and yeeres first aboue written.

LENOX HAMILTON WARWICK SHEFFIELD FERD: GORGES

On the *Verso* of the instrument is the following indorsement: —

Sealed and Delivered by my Lord Duke in the presence of
EDWARD COLLINGWOOD, *Clerke.*

[1] This word looks a little like *seale*, with a punctuation mark following it. The sense would seem to require the plural; there were originally six seals affixed to the instrument. C. D[EANE]. Under each signature was originally a strip of parchment and a seal, of which four are still attached to the document. The sixth signature has been torn from the film. This Patent was first printed by Deane in 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, II. 156.

Anno ·1622·

AT the spring of the year they had apointed the Massachusets to come againe and trade with them, and begane now to prepare for that vioag about the later end of March. But upon some rumors heard, Hobamak, their Indean, tould them upon some jealocies he had, he feared they were joyned with the Narighansets and might betray them if they were not carefull. He intimated also some jealocie of Squanto, by what he gathered from some private whisperings betweene him and other Indeans.[1] But [71] they resolved to proseede, and sente out their shalop with ·10· of their cheefe men aboute the begining of Aprill, and both Sq[u]anto and Hobamake with them, in regarde of the jelocie betweene them. But they had not bene gone longe,[2] but an Indean belonging to Squantos family

[1] Hobbamock told of many secret passages that passed between Tisquantum and others, "having their meetings ordinarily abroad, in the woods; but if at home, howsoever, he was excluded from their secrecy; saying it was the manner of the Indians, when they meant plainly, to deal openly; but in this his practice there was no show of honesty." The Governor held a council and decided to disregard the charges. "As hitherto, upon all occasions, between them and us, we had ever manifested undaunted courage and resolution, so it would not now stand with our safety to mew up ourselves in our new-enclosed town; partly because our store was almost empty, and therefore must seek out for our daily food, without which we could not long subsist; but especially for that thereby they would see us dismayed, and be encouraged to prosecute their malicious purposes with more eagerness than ever they intended. Whereas, on the contrary, by the blessing of God, our fearless carriage might be the means to discourage and weaken their proceedings." Winslow, *Good Newes*, *5. Charlevoix says that to "secure the esteem of these barbarians, it is good not to allow them to despise us with impunity. You must even, outwardly, give contempt for contempt, if you would repress their insolence." *History* (Shea's ed.), II. 27.

[2] Winslow says they had turned the point of the harbor, called the Gurnet's Nose and becoming becalmed, had let fall their grapnel to set things to right and prepare to row. *Good Newes*, *6. Gurnet is a promontory containing about twenty-seven acres, and connected with Marshfield by a beach about seven miles long known as Duxbury (formerly Salt-house) beach.

came runing in seeming great fear,[1] and tould them that many of the Narihgansets, with Corbytant, and he thought also Massasoyte, were coming against them; and he gott away to tell them, not without danger. And being examined by the Gov[erno]r, he made as if they were at hand, and would still be looking back, as if they were at his heels. At which the Gov[erno]r caused them to take armes and stand on their garde, and supposing the boat to be still within hearing (by reason it was calme) caused a warning peece or ·2· to be shote of, the which they heard and came in. But no Indeans apeared; watch was kepte all night, but nothing was seene. Hobamak was confidente for Massasoyt, and thought all was false;[2] yet the Gov[erno]r caused him to send his wife privatly, to see what she could observe (preten[d]ing other occasions), but ther was nothing found, but all was quiet.[3] After this they proseeded on their vioge to the

[1] The Indian had wounded his face, and had the blood still fresh upon it. He reported a gathering of the natives at Namasket, about fifteen miles from Plymouth, and that he had received the blow for speaking in behalf of the English. The Indians, he reported, were resolved to take advantage of Captain Standish's absence to assault the town.

[2] In expressing his confidence in Massasoit, Hobbamock said "he presumed he would neuer have undertaken any such act without his privity, himself being a pinse, that is, one of his chiefest champions or men of valor; it being the manner amongst them not to undertake such enterprises without the advice and furtherance of men of that rank. To this the Governor answered, he should be sorry that any just and necessary occasions of war should arise between him and any [of] the savages, but especially Massassowat; not that he feared him more than the rest, but because his love more exceeded towards him than any. Whereunto Hobbamock replied, there was no cause wherefore he should distrust him, and therefore should do well to continue his affections." Winslow, *Good Newes*, *7.

[3] The woman went to Pokanoket, Massasoit's place of residence, and finding no sign of any hostile movement, told the chief of Squanto's accusations. Massasoit naturally took offense, and came to Plymouth to clear himself, and showed his anger against Tisquantum. After his departure he sent a messenger to Governor Bradford "entreating him to give way to the death of Tisquantum, who had so much abused him." While admitting his guilt, Bradford sought to turn aside this demand, urging his usefulness as an interpreter, but the sachem was not to be pacified. He demanded Tisquantum as a subject, whom the Governor could not retain without violating the

Massachusets, and had good trade, and returned in saftie, blessed be God.

But by the former passages, and other things of like nature, they begane to see that Squanto sought his owne ends, and plaid his owne game, by putting the Indians in fear, and drawing gifts from them to enrich him selfe; making them beleeve he could stir up warr against whom he would, and make peace for whom he would. Yea, he made them beleeve they kept the plague buried in the ground, and could send it amongs whom they would, which did much terrifie the Indeans, and made them depend more on him, and seeke more to him then to Massasoyte, which proucured him envie, and had like to have cost him his life.[1] For after the discovery of his practises,

treaty. "Yet because he would not willingly do it without the Governor's approbation, offered him many beavers' skins for his consent thereto, saying that, according to their manner, their sachem had sent his own knife, and them [the messengers] therewith, to cut off his head and hands, and bring them to him." Bradford replied that it was not the manner of the English to sell men's lives at a price, but when they had deserved justly to die, to give them their reward. He sent for Tisquantum, who came and charged Hobbamock with his overthrow, but expressed a willingness to abide by the Governor's decision, though he knew what fate Massasoit had prepared for him. "But at the instant when our Governor was ready to deliver him into the hands of his executioners, a boat was seen at sea to cross before our town, and fall behind a headland [Manomet] not far off. Whereupon, having heard many rumors of the French, and not knowing whether there were any combination between the savages and them, the Governor told the Indians he would first know what boat that was ere he would deliver them [him] into their custody. But being mad with rage, and impatient at delay, they departed in great heat." The boat was the shallop from Weston's ship, the *Sparrow*. Winslow, *Good Newes*, *9.

[1] "Here let me not omit one notable, though wicked practice of this Tisquantum; who, to the end, he might possess his countrymen with the greater fear of us, and so consequently of himself, told them we had the plague buried in our storehouse; which, at our pleasure, we could send forth to what place or people we would, and destroy them therewith, though we stirred not from home. Being, upon the forenamed brabbles, sent for by the Governor to this place, where Hobbamock was and some other of us, the ground being broke in the midst of the house, whereunder certain barrels of powder were buried, though unknown to him, Hobbamock asked him what it meant. To whom he readily answered, That was the place wherein the plague was buried, whereof he formerly told him and others. After this Hobbamock asked

Massosoyt sought it both privatly and openly; which caused him to stick close to the English, and never durst goe from them till he dyed. They also made good use of the emulation that grue betweene Hobamack and him, which made them cary more squarely. And the Gov[erno]r seemed to countenance the one, and the Captaine the other, by which they had better intelligence, and made them both more diligente. [72][1]

one of our people, whether such a thing were, and whether we had such command of it. Who answered, No; but the God of the English had it in store, and could send it at his pleasure to the destruction of his and our enemies." Winslow, *Good Newes*, *10.

Among the Hurons in 1640 the charge was made that the French spread the smallpox everywhere, and after the smallpox there would follow certain colics which in three days would carry off all those who had escaped the pestilence. *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites), xx. 29. A fatal influence was attributed to the pictures displayed by the priests, and an entire village decided no longer to use French kettles, as everything coming from the French could communicate disease. La Jeune's *Relation* for 1638 is eloquent on this fear. *Ib.* xv. 17.

[1] "Now, though he could not make good these his large promises, especially because of the continued peace between Massassowat and us, he therefore raised this false alarm; hoping, whilst things were hot in the heat of blood, to provoke us to march into his country against him, whereby he hoped to kindle such a flame as would not easily be quenched; and hoping if that block were once removed, there were no other between him and honor, which he loved as his life, and preferred before his peace. For these and the like abuses the Governor sharply reproved him; yet was he so necessary and profitable an instrument, as at that time we could not miss him. But when we understood his dealings, we certified all the Indians of our ignorance and innocency therein; assuring them, till they begun with us, they should have no cause to fear; and if any hereafter should raise any such reports, they should punish them as liars and seekers of their and our disturbance; which gave the Indians good satisfaction on all sides." Winslow, *Good Newes*, *8.

The last mention of Hobbamock in the history of Plymouth is in connection with the day of humiliation in July, 1623 (p. 324, *infra*). The writer of *New Englands First Fruits* attributes Hobbamock's conversion to that incident, for he "resolved from that day not to rest till he did know this great good God, and for that end to forsake the Indians, and cleave to the English, which he presently did, and laboured by all publique and private meanes to suck in more and more of the knowledge of God, and his wayes, and as he increased in knowledge so in affection and also in his practise, reforming and conforming himselfe accordingly: and (though he was much tempted by inticements, scoffes and scornes from the Indians) yet, could he never be gotten

Now in a maner their provissions were wholy spent, and they looked hard for supply, but none came. But about the *later end of May*, they spied *a boat* at sea, which at first they thought had beene some French-man; but it proved a shalop which came from a ship [1] which Mr. Weston and an other had set out a fishing, at a place called Damarins-cove, ·40· leagues to the eastward of them, wher were that year many more ships come a fishing.[2] This boat brought ·7· passengers and some letters; but no vitails, nor any hope of any. Some part of which I shall set downe.

Mr. Carver, In my last leters by the Fortune, in whom Mr. Cushman wente, and who I hope is with you, for we daly expecte the shipe back againe. She departed hence, the begining of July, with ·35· persons, though not over well provided with necesaries, by reason of the parsemonie of the adventure[r]s. I have solisited them to send you a supply of men and provissions before shee come. They all answer they will doe great maters, when they hear good news. Nothing before; so faithfull, constant, and carefull of your good, are your olde and honest freinds, that if they hear not from you, they are like to send you no supplie, etc. I am now to relate the occasion of sending *this*

from the English, nor from seeking after their God; but died amongst them, leaving some good hopes in their hearts that his soule went to rest." *2.

[1] The ship was the *Sparrow* of which Rodgers was the master, and Gibbs, master's mate. Wanting a pilot it put into Damaris Cove, a group of small islands lying northwest from Monhegan. "The men that belong to the ship there fishing, had newly set up a may pole and were very merry." Preparing a small boat for coasting, they would not trust an Indian pilot, because one so guided had just been lost. So Gibbs undertook it, and, touching at the Isle of Shoals (Smith's Islands) and at Cape Ann, they reached Plymouth. *Pratt's Narrative.*

[2] Levett says that from June to the last of January or thereabouts, no English fishing ships were on the coast of what is now Maine. "The fleet of Fishermen doe comonly arive there in January and February: the fishing contenewes untill the begininge of May, and by the end of that month comonly they depart. The maner of the Fishermen is to leave there shallops in the Contry untill the next season every shipe in that harbor where they fish. They may be of them in all about 3 or 400." The English contingent of this fishing fleet he places at forty or fifty sail. See *Christopher Levett* (Gorges Society), 64.

ship, hoping if you give credite to my words, you will have a more favourable opinion of it, then some hear, wherof Pickering is one, who taxed me to mind my owne ends, which is in part true, etc. *Mr. Beachamp and my selfe* bought *this litle ship*, and have set her out, partly, if it may be, to uphold[1] the plantation, as well to doe others good as our selves; and partly to gett up what we are formerly out; though we are otherwise censured, etc. This is the occasion we have sent *this ship* and these passengers, on our owne accounte;[2] whom we desire you will frendly entertaine and supply with shuch necesaries as you cane spare, and they wante, etc. And among other things we pray you lend or sell them some seed corne, and if you have the salt remaining of the last year, that you will let them have it for their presente use, and we will either pay you for it, or give you more when we have set our salt-pan to worke, which we desire may be set up in one of the litle ilands in your bay, etc.[3] And because we intende, if God plase, [73] (and the generallitie doe it not,) *to send within a month another shipe*, who, having discharged her passengers, *shal goe to Virginia*, etc. And it may be we shall send a *small ship to abide with you* on the coast, which I conceive may be a great help to the plantation.[4]

[1] I know not which way. — BRADFORD.

[2] Winslow says the *Sparrow* brought six or seven passengers, "that should before have been landed at our Plantation; who also brought no more provision for the present than served the boat's gang for their return to the ship." *Good Newes*, *11. The passengers, who cannot now be identified, would seem to have constituted wholly a private venture of Weston and Beauchamp, probably like Oldham and his associates, to plant, fish, manufacture and trade upon their own account for the benefit of their employers. This placed them upon the same basis as the "particular plantations" in Virginia, enjoying land rights and exemption from the conditions imposed upon the members of the plantation proper. Such freedom had given rise to some troublesome conditions in Virginia, and they went through the same course at New Plymouth. As soon as the importance to the plantation of the fur trade came to be realized, these "particular adventures" could be nothing else than interlopers, contributing nothing to the chartered communities, and subjecting them to most unfair competition. The making of salt did not appeal strongly to the settlers, while those engaged in it required food and shelter for an entire winter, imposing a heavy tax upon their slender stores.

[3] They had written of more than one island in the bay.

[4] See p. 121, *supra*.

To the end our desire may be effected, which, I assure my selfe, will be also for your good, we pray you give them entertainmente in your houses the time they shall be with you, that they may lose no time, but may presently goe in hand to fell trees and cleave them, to the end lading may be ready and our ship stay not.[1]

Some of the adventurers have sent you hearwith all some directions for your furtherance in the commone bussines, who are like those St. James speaks of, that bid their brother eat, and warme him, but give him nothing;[2] so they bid you make salt, and uphold the plantation, but send you no means wherwithall to doe it, etc. By *the next* we purpose *to send more people on our owne accounte*, and *to take a patente;* that if your peopl[e] should be as unhumane as some of the adventurers, not to admite us to dwell with them, which were extreme barbarisme, and which will never enter into my head to thinke you have any shuch Pickerings amongst you. Yet to satisfie our passengers I must of force doe it; and for some other reasons not necessary to be writen, etc.

I find the generall so backward, and your freinds at Leyden so could, that I fear you must stand on your leggs, and trust (as they say) to God and your selves.

Subscribed,
your loving freind,
THO: WESTON.

Jan: 12. 1621 [–22].

Sundry other things I pass over, being tedious and impertinent.

All this was but could comfort to fill their hungrie bellies, and a slender performance of his former late promiss; and as litle did it either fill or warme them, as those the Apostle James spake of, by him before mentioned. And well might it make them remember what the psalmist saith, *Psa.* 118. 8. *It is better to trust in the Lord, then to have confidence in man. And Psa.* 146. [3.] *Put not your trust in princes* (much less in marchants) *nor in the sone of man, for ther is no help in them* [him]. *v.* 5. *Blesed is he that hath the God of Jacob for his help, whose hope is in the Lord his God.* And as they

[1] For clapboards.

[2] James II. 15, 16.

were now fayled of suply by him and others in this their greatest neede and wants, which was caused by him and the rest, who put so great a company of men upon them, as the former company were, without any food, and came at shuch a time as they must live almost a whole year before any could [74] be raised, excepte they had sente some; so, upon the pointe they never had any supply of vitales more afterwards (but what the Lord gave them otherwise); for all the company sent at any time was allways too short for those people that came with it.

Ther came allso *by the same ship* other leters, but of later date; one from Mr. Weston, an other from a parte of the adventurers, as foloweth.

Mr. Carver, Since my last, to the end we might the more readily proceed to help the generall, at a meeting of some of the principall adventurers, a proposition was put forth, and alowed by all presente (save Pickering), to adventure each man the third parte of what he formerly had done. And ther are some other that folow his example, and will adventure no furder. In regard wherof the greater part of the adventurers being willing to uphold the bussines, finding it no reason that those that are willing should uphold the bussines of those that are unwilling, whose backwardnes doth discourage those that are forward, and hinder other new-adventurers from coming in, we having well considered therof, have resolved, according to an article in the agreemente,[1] (*that it may be lawfull by a generall consente of the adventurers and planters, upon just occasion, to break of their joynte stock*,) to breake it of; and doe pray you to ratifie, and confirme the same on your parts. Which being done, we shall the more willingly goe forward for the upholding of you with all things necesarie. But in any case you must agree to the artickles, and send it by the first under your hands and seals. So I end

Your loving freind,
Tho: Weston.

Jan: 17. 1621 [–22].

[1] Deane refers to the third article in the agreement, p. 105, *supra*.

Another leter was write from part of the company of the adventurers to the same purpose, and subscribed with ·9· of their names, wherof Mr. Westons and Mr. Beachamphs were tow. Thes[e] things seemed strang[e] unto them, seeing this unconstancie and shufling; it made them to thinke ther was some misterie in the matter. And therfore the Gov[erno]r concealed these letters from the publick, only imparted them to some trustie freinds for advice, who concluded with him, that this tended to disband and scater them (in regard of their straits); and if Mr. Weston and others, who seemed to rune in a perticuler way, should come over with shiping so provided as his letters did intimate, they most would fall to him, to the prejudice of them selves and the rest of the adventure[r]s, their freinds, from whom as yet they heard nothing. And it was doubted whether he had not sente [75] over shuch a company in the former ship,[1] for shuch an end. Yet they tooke compassion of those ·7· men which *this ship, which fished to the eastward, had kept till planting time was over*, and so could set no corne; and allso wanting vitals, (for they turned them off without any, and indeed wanted for them selves,) neither was their salt-pan come, so as they could not performe any of those things which Mr. Weston had apointed, and might have starved if the plantation had not succoured them; who, in their wants, gave them as good as any of their owne.[2] *The ship wente to Virginia*, wher they sould both

[1] The *Fortune*.

[2] Weston's haphazard sending of unprovided men had been practised in Virginia, and called out the sharp criticism of Captain John Smith. "The charge was all one to send a workman as a roarer, whose clamors to appease, we had much adoe to get fish and corne to maintaine them from one supply till another came with more loyterers without victuals still to make us worse and worse, for the most of them would rather starve then worke." *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters*, *6.

The Council for New England was at this time contending against the interlopers, or free-traders, who came to the coast of New England to trade or to fish, and usually for both objects. This infringed the monopoly set up by the council under its charter, and reduced its profits. In defense of the rights of the Council Sir Ferdinando Gorges wrote *A briefe Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England*, published by

ADVERTISEMENTS

For the unexperienced Planters of *New-England*, or any where.

OR,

The Path-way to experience to erect a PLANTATION.

With the yearely proceedings of this Country in Fiſhing and Planting, ſince the yeare 1614. to the yeare 1630. and their preſent eſtate.

Alſo how to prevent the greateſt inconveniences, by their proceedings in Virginia, *and other Plantations, by approved examples.*

With the Countries Armes, a deſcription of the Coaſt, Harbours, Habitations, Land-markes, Latitude and Longitude: with the Map, allowed by our Royall King CHARLES.

By Captaine IOHN SMITH, ſometimes Governour of VIRGINIA, and Admirall of NEVV-ENGLAND.

LONDON,
Printed by IOHN HAVILAND, and are to be ſold by ROBERT MILBOVRNE, at the Grey-hound in *Pauls* Church-yard. 1631.

ship and fish, of which (it was conceived) Mr. Weston had a very slender accounte.[1]

After this came another of his ships,[2] and brought letters dated the ·10· of Aprill, from Mr. Weston, as followeth.

the Council in 1622. Its special object was "to striue to vindicate our reputation from the iniurious aspersions that haue beene laid vpon it, by the malicious practises of some that would aduenture nothing in the beginning, but would now reape the benefit of our paines and charges, and not seeme beholding to vs; and to that end they disualew what is past, and by sinister informations derogate what they can from the present course intended: the rather because the good Orders appointed to bee put in execution there, are likely to restraine the licentious irregularitie of other places." *7. This is doubtless the book, the printing of which was referred, at a meeting of the Council on May 31, 1622, to the Earl of Arundel. It is reprinted in 2 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, IX. 1; in Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges* (Prince Society), I. 199.

Weston's venture gave offense to the New England Company, for in the minutes of the meeting of May 31, 1622, is the following entry: "First it is ordered that concerning the Complaint made of Mr. Weston, petition shall bee made to his Majestie for the forfeiture of his shipp and goods to the president and Councells use." This could not have referred to the *Fortune*, for her cargo had been taken by the French. The order was probably directed against one of Weston's vessels about to go to New England, and the paragraph of the Records that followed may be the real cause of action: "It is thought fitt that there shall bee an order procured from the Lords of his Majestie's Councell for sending for such as have in contempt of authority gone for New England this last yeare, As also to procure a further warning to bee given to them from further attempting, by Proclamation, and Mr. Attorney to bee moved therein." On November 6 issued the royal proclamation prohibiting "interloping and disorderly trading" to New England.

[1] A vessel of thirty tons, called the *Sparrow*, and a "pinnace of Mr. Westons," were reported to the Virginia Company as bringing provisions to Virginia in the summer of 1623. *Records of the Virginia Company*, II. 496. As the pinnace could hardly have been obtained or constructed in New England, it was in all probability the *Swan*. Carver described the *Speedwell* as a pinnace, though of sixty tons. The name was generally applied to a small, light, two-masted vessel, often in attendance on a larger vessel as tender; and, later, to a double-banked boat propelled by oars.

[2] The *Charity*, of one hundred tons, accompanied by a smaller vessel, the *Swan*, of thirty tons. They left London about the last of April, and arrived in the end of June or beginning of July, bringing fifty or sixty men. Though sent over at the charge of Weston to plant for him, it was the Plymouth plantation that supported them for a time. Smith, *Generall Historie*, 236; Winslow, *Good Newes*, *13.

Mr. Bradford, these, etc. *The Fortune* is arived, of whose good news touching your estate and procee[d]ings, I am very glad to hear. And how soever he was robed on the way by the French-men, yet I hope your loss will not be great, for the conceite of so great a returne doth much animate the adventurers, so that I hope some matter of importance will be done by them, etc. As for my selfe, I have sould my adventure and debts unto them, so as I am quite [1] of you, and you of me, for that matter, etc. Now though I have nothing to pretend as an adventurer amongst you, yet I will advise you a litle for your good, if you can apprehend it. I perceive and know as well as another, the dispossitions of *your adventurers*, whom the hope of gaine hath drawne on to this they have done; and yet I fear that hope will not draw them much furder. Besides, *most of them are against the sending of them of Leyden, for whose cause this bussines was first begune*, and some of the most religious (as Mr. Greene by name) excepts against them. So that my advice is (you may follow it if you please) that you forthwith break of your joynte stock, which you have warente to doe, both in law and conscience, for the most parte of the adventurers have given way unto it by a former letter. And the means you have ther, which I hope will be to some purpose by the trade of this spring, may, with the help of some freinds hear, bear the charge of transporting those of Leyden; and when they are with you I make no question, but by Gods help you will be able to subsist of your selves. But I shall leave you to your discretion.

I desired diverce of the adventurers, as Mr. Peirce, Mr. Greene,[2] and others, if they had any thing to send you, either vitails or leters, to send them *by these ships;* and marvelling they sent not so much as a letter, I asked our passengers what leters they had, and with some dificultie one of them tould me he had one, which was delivered him with [76] great charge of secrecie; and for more securitie, to buy a paire of new-shoes, and sow it betweene the soles for fear of intercepting. I, taking the leter, wondering what mistrie might be in it, broke

[1] See how his promise is fulfild. — Bradford.

[2] It may be noted that the four names prominent in these letters — Weston, Greene, Pickering and Peirce — are not found among the forty-two adventurers who signed the composition with the New Plymouth plantation in 1626. See vol. II. p. 6.

it open,[1] and found this treacherous leter subscribed by the hands of Mr. Pickering and Mr. Greene. Wich leter had it come to your hands without answer, might have caused the hurt, if not the ruine of us all. For assuredly if you had followed their instructions, and shewed us that unkindness which they advise you unto, to hold us in distruste as enimise, etc., it might have been an occasion to have set us togeather by the ears, to the distruction of us all. For I doe beleeve that in shuch a case, they knowing what bussines hath been betweene us, not only my brother, but others also, would have been violent, and heady against you, etc. I mente to have setled the people I before and now send, with or near you, as well for their as your more securitie and defence, as help on all occasions. But I find the adventurers so jealous and suspitious, that I have altered my resolution, and given order to my brother and those with him, to doe as they and him selfe shall find fitte. Thus, etc.

Your loving freind,
THO: WESTON.

Aprill 10, 1621.

Some part of Mr. Pickerings letter before mentioned.

To Mr. BRADFORD and Mr. BREWSTER, etc.

My dear love remembred unto you all, etc. The company hath bought out Mr. Weston, and are very glad they are freed of him, he being judged a man that thought him selfe above the generall, and not expresing so much the fear of God as was meete in a man, to whom shuch trust should have been reposed in a matter of so great importance. I am sparing to be so plaine as indeed is clear against him; but a few words to the wise.

Mr. Weston will not permitte leters to be sent in *his ships*, nor any thing for your good or ours, of which ther is some reason in respecte of him selfe, etc. His brother Andrew,[2] whom he doth send as principall

[1] An example imitated by Governor Bradford in the case of Lyford and Oldham. See p. 383, *infra*.

[2] Andrew Weston, returning to England in the *Charity*, in the autumn of 1622, is supposed to have taken with him an Indian boy "papa Whinett, belonging to Abba-

in one of these ships, is a heady yong man, and violente, and set against you ther, and the company hear; ploting with Mr. Weston their owne ends, which tend to your and our undooing in respecte of our estates ther, and prevention of our good ends. For by credible testimoney we are informed his purpose is to come to your colonie, pretending he comes for and from the adventurers, and will seeke to gett what you have in readynes [77] into *his ships*, as if they came from the company, and possessing all, will be so much profite to him selfe. And further to informe them selves what spetiall places or things you have discovered, to the end that they may supres and deprive you, etc.

The Lord, who is the watchman of Israll and slepeth not, preserve you and deliver you from unreasonable men. I am sorie that ther is cause to admonish you of these things concerning this man; so I leave you to God, who bless and multiply you into thousands, to the advancemente of the glorious gospell of our Lord Jesus. Amen. Fare well.

Your loving freinds,
EDWARD PICKERING.
WILLIAM GREENE.

I pray conceale both the writing and deliverie of this leter, but make the best use of it. *We hope to sete forth a ship our selves with in this month.*

The heads of his answer.

Mr. BRADFORD, This is the leter that I wrote unto you of, which to answer in every perticuler is needles and tedious. My owne conscience and all our people can and I thinke will testifie, that my end in sending *the ship Sparrow* was your good, etc. Now I will not deney but ther are many of our people rude fellows, as these men terme them; yet

dakest Sachem of Massachusetts." Sir Ferdinando Gorges learned of this, and the Council for New England, November 19, 1622, directed that a letter be written to Thomas Weston, directing him to deliver the boy to Leonard Peddock, then about to sail for New England. The name of Peddock is perpetuated in that of one of the largest islands in Boston Bay.

I presume they will be governed by shuch as I set over them. And I hope not only to be able to reclaime them from that profanenes that may scandalise the vioage, but by degrees to draw them to God, etc.[1] I am so farr from sending rude fellows to deprive you either by fraude or violence of what is yours, as I have charged the m[aste]r of the *ship Sparrow*, not only to leave with you 2000. of bread, but also a good quantitie of fish,[2] etc. But I will leave it to you to consider what evill this leter would or might have done, had it come to your hands and taken the effecte the other desired.

Now if you be of the mind that these men are, deale plainly with us, and we will seeke our residence els-wher. If you are as freindly as we have thought you to be, give us the entertainment of freinds,[3] and we will take nothing from you, neither meat, drinke, nor lodging, but what we will, in one kind or other, pay you for, etc. I shall leave in the countrie *a litle ship*[4] (if God send her safe thither) with mariners

[1] Little attention was given to the quality of seamen sent on these long voyages. In 1619 Pring, not inexperienced in such matters, was obliged to flog five of his men, and poured out his woes to the directors of his voyage, blaming them for giving him "this incorrigible scum of rascals — sea-gulls, sea-apes — whom the land hath ejected for their wicked lives and ungodly behaviour." *Cal. State Papers*, East Indies, March 23, 1619. The French sailors seem to have been no better. Biard, at Port Royal, in 1612, came to know the men of St. Malo and Biscay, who resorted to the coasts for fishing and trading, and formed the greater part of his parishioners. He described them as "ordinarily quite deficient in any spiritual feeling, having no sign of religion except in their oaths and blasphemies, nor any knowledge of God beyond the simplest conceptions which they bring with them from France, clouded with licentiousness and the cavilings and revilings of heretics." *Jesuit Relations*, II. 7. A few years later Lucy Downing, a sister of Governor John Winthrop, sought to have her son put to a good seaman — like Allerton or Peirce — to be taught seamanship. Those proficient claimed that the art of navigation could not easily be attained, and that without help in the rules as well as by practise, "it can neuer be attained to be more than a comman seaman, wich is noe better than commane slauerye." They also claimed that a seaman was not sufficiently instructed "till he could make his owne instruments." The voyages were long and the company none of the best. 5 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, I. 29, 40.

[2] *But ye* [he] *left not his own men a bite of bread.* — BRADFORD.

[3] Bradford had first written of " your houeses."

[4] The *Swan*.

and fisher-men to stay ther, who shall coast, and trad with the savages, and the old plantation. It may be we shall be as helpfull to you, as you will be to us. I thinke I shall see you the next spring, and so I comend you to the protection of God, who ever keep you.

Your loving freind,
THO: WESTON.

[78] Thus all ther hopes in regard of Mr. Weston were layed in the dust, and all his promised helpe turned into an empttie advice, which they apprehended was nether lawfull nor profitable for them to follow. And they were not only thus left destitute of help in their extreme wants, haveing neither vitails, nor any thing to trade with,[1] but others prepared and ready to glean up what the cuntrie might have afforded for their releefe.

As for those harsh censures and susspitions intimated in the former and following leters, they desired to judg as charitably and wisly of them as they could, waighing them in the ballance of love and reason; and though they (in parte) came from godly and loveing freinds, yet they conceived many things might arise from over deepe jealocie and fear,[2] togeather with unmeete provocations, though they well saw Mr. Weston pursued his owne ends, and was inbittered in spirite. For after the receit of the former leters, the Gov[erno]r received one from Mr. Cushman, who went home in the ship, and was allway intimate with Mr. Weston, (as former passages declare), and it was much marveled that nothing was heard from him, all this while. But it should seeme it was the difficulty of sending, for this leter was directed as the leter of a

[1] Writing in 1624, Winslow said, "For in these forenamed straits, such was our state, as in the morning we had often our food to seek for the day, and yet performed the duties of our callings, I mean other daily labors, to provide for after time; and though at some times in some seasons at noon I have seen men stagger by reason of faintness for want of food, yet ere night, by the good providence and blessing of God, we have enjoyed such plenty as though the windows of heaven had been opened unto us." *Good Newes*, *51.

[2] Bradford wrote "arising from the same," but struck it out.

wife to her husband, who was here, and brought by him to the Gov[erno]r. It was as followeth.

Beloved Sir, I hartily salute you, with trust of your health, and many thanks for your love. By Gods providence we got well home the ·17· *of Feb.* Being robbed by the French-men by the way, and carried by them into France, and were kepte ther ·15· *days*, and lost all that we had that was worth taking; but thanks be to God, we escaped with our lives and ship.[1] I see not that it worketh any discouragment

[1] In the Public Records office, London, Colonial, v. 112, is a "complaint of certain Adventurers and Inhabitants of the Plantation in New England," on the capture and looting of this vessel. It "sheweth:

"That a ship belonging to them, named the Fortune, of the burden of between 40 and 50 tons or thereabouts, being upon their way homeward, and near the English coast, some eight leagues off Use, called by the Frenchmen Ile d'Use [Dieu], was, the 19th of January last assailed and taken by a French Man of War, the Captain whereof was called Fontenau de Pennart de Brittannie: and carried to the Isle of Use.

"That Fontenau presented the ship, and company thereof, being 13 persons, as prisoners to Monsieur le Marquis de Cera, Governor of the Isle, who although, upon examination and sight of their Commission, he found that they were neither pirates, nor assistants to Rochelle, and acknowledged there was no breach between England and France: yet said, He would make prize of them, to give content to his Captains and servitors.

"That thereupon Monsieur de Cera kept Thomas Barton, Master of the ship, seven days, close prisoner in his Castle; and the rest of the company under guard; and commanded his soldiers to pillage them; who left them not so much as a kettle to boil their meat in, nor a can to drink in.

"That Monsieur de Cera took away of the goods of the Adventurers, in beaver skins and other commodities, to the value of £400, at the least.

"That he took away of the Owners, a Newshett [new-sheet cable], an anchor, two murderers with their chambers, eight calivers with bandileers, a flag, ensign, powder, shot, ropes, lines, and other instruments, to the value of £50.

"That he suffered his soldiers to pillage the company, that they took away all their apparel; not leaving some of them a hat to their heads, nor a shoe to their feet, to the damage of £50 at least.

"That he sent for all their letters; opened and kept what he pleased: especially, though he was much entreated to the contrary, a letter written by the Governor of our Colony in New England, containing a general Relation of all matters there.

"That when any ship, English or Dutch, came into the road; he caused our company to be stowed under the hatches. And — having detained them thirteen days;

hear. I purpose by Gods grace *to see you* shortly, *I hope in June nexte, or before.* In the mean space know these things, and I pray you be advertised a litle. Mr. Weston hath quite broken of from our company, through some discontents that arose betwext him and some of our adventurers, and hath sould all his adventures, and *hath now sent* ·3· *smale ships for his perticuler plantation.*[1] The *greatest* wherof,[2] *being* ·100· *tune*, Mr. Reynolds[3] goeth m[aste]r and he with the rest purposeth to come him selfe; for what end I know not.

The people which they cary are no men for us, wherfore I pray you entertaine them not, neither exchainge man for man with them, excepte it be some of your worst. He hath taken a patente for him selfe.[4]

and fed them with lights, livers, and entrails: because he suffered his soldiers to eat all their good victuals — at length he sent them aboard a little lean flesh, a hogshead of small wine, some little bread and vinegar, to victual them home. But withal propounded to them, to testify, under their hands, That he had taken from them but two hogsheads of fox [beaver] skins: else, he said, they should not have liberty.

"Howbeit, by the kindness of a young Gentleman, pitying their distress — who only amongst the French could speak English — they were discharged; giving under their hands, that the Marquis of Cera had taken from them two hogsheads of beaver skins, and some other small matters." Arber, *Story of the Pilgrim Fathers*, 506.

[1] The *Sparrow*, the *Charity* and the *Swan*.

[2] The *Charity*.

[3] Reynolds had been captain of the *Speedwell*, p. 116, *supra*.

[4] From what company or for what place Weston took his patent is not known. In May, 1622, the Council for New England sought to secure the forfeiture of his vessel and goods, apparently for sending them to New England "in contempt of authority." This could hardly have been the *Charity*, for Weston had his patent before she sailed in April–May, 1622. The records of neither company show that a patent issued in his name.

The Council for New England was seeking to enlarge its means and its power. On March 9, 1621–22, it had granted by indenture to John Mason Cape Trabigzand or Cape Anne, "lying in the northernmost parts of the Massachusetts Country and to the northeastwards of the great river of the Massachusetts." Other patents or grants were made in May, Sir Ferdinando Gorges was chosen governor of the Council, and advances were made for interesting the merchants of the western parts of England in the fishing on the coast of New England. As the patent was about to be renewed, adventurers were called upon to pay in their whole subscriptions, or be dropped from the new corporation, and the questions of sending a ship and issuing a book (p. 260, *supra*) received consideration. Evidently new energy came into the company with the selection of Sir Ferdinando as the president.

If they offerr to buy any thing of you, let it be shuch as you can spare, and let them give the worth of it. If they borrow any thing of you, let them leave a good pawne, etc. It is like he [78][1] will plant to the southward of the Cape, for William Trevore,[2] hath lavishly tould but what he knew or imagined of Capewack, Mohiggen,[3] and the Narigansets. I fear these people will hardly deale so well with the savages as they should. I pray you therfore signifie to Squanto, that they are a distincte body from us, and we have nothing to doe with them, neither must be blamed for their falts, much less can warrente their fidelitie. We are aboute to recover our losses in France. Our freinds at Leyden are well, and will come to you as many as can *this time*. I hope all will turne to the best, wherfore I pray you be not discouraged, but gather up your selfe to goe thorow these dificulties cherfully and with courage in that place wherin God hath sett you, untill the day of refreshing come. And the Lord God of sea and land bring us comfortably togeather againe, if it may stand with his glorie.

Yours,

ROBART CUSHMAN.[4]

On the other sid of the leafe, in the same leter, came these few lines from Mr. John Peirce, in whose name the patente was taken, and of whom more will follow,[5] to be spoken in its place.

[1] The number is repeated in the MS.

[2] Trevore had come in the *Mayflower*, under an agreement to remain in New England for one year. Vol. II. p. 401.

[3] The Indians, according to Winslow, believed that either the Dutch or French passed through from sea to sea at some point between Cape Cod and Virginia, and engaged in a profitable trade. The inlet, known to the Indians as Mohegon, Winslow believed to be Hudson's River. *Good Newes*, *61. Hence it was concluded New England was an island. The true Moheag or Mohegan was Pequot territory, extending from Connecticut River to the Narragansett lands, and lying to the north of what became later the Pequot region. Captain John Smith mentions a Moshoquen people, but with too great indefiniteness to permit identification.

[4] This letter was written between the middle of February, 1622–23, and the end of April, 1623, probably nearer the end of that interval, as the writer entertains hopes of receiving compensation from the French for the taking of the *Fortune*.

[5] See p. 306.

WORTHY SIR, I desire you to take into consideration that which is writen on the other side, and not any way to damnifie your owne collony, whos strength is but weaknes, and may therby be more infeebled. And for the leters of association, by the next ship we send, I hope you shall receive satisfaction; in the mean time whom you admite I will approve. But as for Mr. Weston's company, I thinke them so base in condition (for the most parte) as in all apearance not fitt for an honest mans company. I wish they prove other wise. My purpose is not to enlarge my selfe, but cease in these few lines, and so rest

Your loving freind,

JOHN PEIRCE.

All these things they pondred and well considered, yet concluded to give his men frendly entertainmente; partly in regard of Mr. Weston him selfe, considering what he had been unto them, and done for them, and to some, more espetially; and partly in compassion to the people, who were now come into a willdernes, (as them selves were,) and were by *the ship*[1] to be presently put a shore, (for she was *to cary other passengers* to *Virginia*, who lay at great charge;) and they were alltogeather unacquainted and knew not what to doe. So as they had received his former company of ·7· *men*,[2] and vitailed them as their owne hitherto, so they also received *these* (being *aboute* ·60· *lusty men*),[3] and gave [79] housing for them selves and their goods; and many being sicke, they had the best means the place could aford them. They stayed hear the most parte of the sommer till *the ship came back againe from Virginia*.[4] Then, by his direc-

[1] The *Charity*.

[2] Who came in the *Sparrow*.

[3] In 1668 Phinehas Pratt described himself in a petition to the General Court, as "the remainder of the forlorn hope of sixty men." He was then in extreme penury. 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, IV. 475.

[4] Pratt says Weston's people remained at Plymouth until the other vessels should arrive, some eight or nine weeks after their first coming, and "then we maed hast to settle our plantation in the Massachusetts Bay." Bradford intimates that they did not remove until the return of the ship from Virginia; Winslow says after the return

tion, or those whom he set over them, they removed into the Massachusset Bay, he having got a patente for some part ther, (by light of ther former discovery in leters sent home). Yet they left all ther sicke folke hear till they were setled and housed.[1] But of ther victails they had not any, though they were in great wante, nor any thing els in recompence of any courtecie done them; neither did they desire it, for they saw they were an unruly company, and had no good govermente over them, and by disorder would soone fall into wants if Mr. Weston came not the sooner amongst them; and therfore, to prevente all after occasion, would have nothing of them.[2]

Amids these streigths, and the desertion of those from whom they had hoped for supply, and when famine begane now to pinch them sore, they not knowing what to doe, the Lord, (who never fails his,) presents them with an occasion, beyond all expectation. This boat which came from the eastward brought them a letter from a stranger, of whose name they had never heard before, being

of their "coasters," which had found a fit place for settlement. It is possible the coasters refer to the vessels going to Virginia. By September the settlement at Wessaguscusset or Wessagusset was made, nearly opposite the mouth of the Quincy River, overlooking what was formerly known as Hunt's Hill Cove; but the upland having been removed, the submerged site is now part of King's Cove. This question was determined by Charles Francis Adams from the Winthrop map. 2 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, VII. 22; Adams, *Weymouth Thirty Years Later*. They purchased the land from a sagamore, Aberdecest, to whom belonged the Indian boy "papa Whinett" mentioned on p. 264, *supra*.

[1] The sick and lame were left at Plymouth, where they were tended by Dr. Samuel Fuller, though among the Weston people there was a "chirurgeon," Salsberry by name. Winslow states that the sick were recovered gratis and sent to Wessagusset as occasion served.

[2] "For their master's sake, who formerly had deserved well from us, we continued to do them whatsoever good or furtherance we could, attributing these things to the want of conscience and discretion, expecting each day when God in his providence would disburden us of them, sorrowing that their overseers were not of more ability and fitness for their places, and much fearing what would be the issue of such raw and unconscionable beginnings." Winslow, *Good Newes*, *14.

a captaine of a ship come ther a fishing. This leter was as followeth. Being thus inscribed.

To all his good freinds at Plimoth, these, etc.

Friends, cuntrimen, and neighbours: I salute you, and wish you all health and hapines in the Lord. I make bould with these few lines to trouble you, because unless I were unhumane, I can doe no less. Bad news doth spread it selfe too farr; yet I will so farr informe you that my selfe, with many good freinds in the south-collonie of Virginia, have received shuch a blow, that ·400· persons large will not make good our losses.[1] Therfore I doe intreat you (allthough not knowing you) that the old rule which I learned when I went to schoole, may be sufficente. That is, Hapie is he whom other mens harmes doth make to beware. And now againe and againe, wishing all those that willingly would serve the Lord, all health and happines in this world, and everlasting peace in the world to come. And so I rest,

Yours,

John Hudleston.[2]

[1] Captain John Smith was sarcastic in his reference to this massacre. "These simple Salvages their bosome friends, I so much oppressed, had laid their plot how to cut all their throats in a morning, and upon the 22d. of March, so innocently attempted it, they slew three hundred forty seven, set their houses on fire, slew their cattell, and brought them to that distraction and confusion within lesse than a yeare, there were not many more than two thousand remaining [of between seven and eight thousand]." *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters*, *7. The actual loss in the massacre is placed at three hundred and forty-seven.

[2] In June, 1620, the Virginia Company had complimented Huddleston, master of the *Bona Nova*, "who discharged himselfe well of all that was reposed to his trust and returneth much comended from the Gouernor and Counsell, as one of the sufficientest masters that ever came thither." November 21, 1621, a commission was granted to John Huddleston, for a voyage to Virginia and for a free fishing on the coast of America. He still commanded the *Bona Nova*, a vessel of about two hundred tons. On the same day a commission issued to the *Discovery* (p. 277, *infra*). *Records of the Virginia Company*, I. 370, 554. This incident of the supply drawn from the Monhegan fishermen may have given occasion to the reference by Maverick. Writing about 1660 he gave this account of the settlement at Plymouth: "This place was seated about the yeare 1620 or 1621 by a company of Brownists, which went formerly from

By this boat the Gov[erno]r returned a thankfull answer, as was meete, and sent a boate of their owne with them, which was piloted by them, in which Mr. Winslow was sente to procure what provissions he could of the ships, who was kindly received by the foresaid gentill-man, who not only spared what he [90 [1]] could, but writ to others to doe the like. By which means he gott some good quantitie and returned in saftie, by which the plantation had a duble benefite, first, a present refreshing by the food brought, and secondly, they knew the way to those parts for their benefite hearafter.[2] But what was gott, and this small boat brought, being devided among so many, came but to a litle, yet by Gods blesing it upheld them till harvest. It arose but to a quarter of a pound of bread a day to each person; and the Gov[erno]r caused it to be dayly given them, otherwise, had it been in their owne custody, they would have eate it

England to Amsterdam, and not beeing able to live well there, they drew in one Mr. Weston, and some other Merchants in London to Transport them and their Famelies into those Westerne parts; They intended for Virginia, but fell with Cape Cod alias Mallabar, and got into the Harbour of it, and finding it not fitt for Habitation sought further and found this place and there settled liveing extream hardy for some yeares and in great danger of the Indians, and could not long have subsisted, had not Plymouth Merchants settled Plantations about that time at Monhegon and Pascattaway, by whom they were supplyed and the Indians discouraged from assaulting them." 2 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, I. 242.

[1] Bradford omits numbers 80 to 89 in his page, but the text is continuous. 79 is repeated in the paging, but in a more modern hand; not, however, that of Prince.

[2] Deane conjectures this was probably in June, using Winslow's account who wrote: "I found kind entertainment and good respect; with a willingness to supply our wants. But, not being able to spare that quantity I required (by reason of the necessity of some among themselves; whom they supplied before my coming), [they] would not take any bills for the same: but did what they could freely, wishing their store had been such as they might in greater measure have expressed their own love, and supplied our necessities, for which they sorrowed; provoking one another to the utmost of their abilities. Which, although it were not much, amongst so many people as were at the Plantation; yet through the provident and discreet care of the Governors, [it] recovered and preserved strength till our own crop on the ground was ready." *Good Newes*, *11. Samoset had told them something of these eastern parts. P. 199, *supra*.

up and then starved. But thus, with what els they could get, they made pretie shift till corne was ripe.[1]

This sommer they builte a fort with good timber, both strong and comly, which was of good defence, made with a flate rofe and batll[e]ments, on which their ordnance were mounted, and wher they kepte constante watch, espetially in time of danger.[2] It

[1] "It is not a small proporc̃on of corne that will feed a Man when that is his onelie sustenance, had you no other provisions in England perhaps the land were too little to sustain her inhabitantes." *George Sandys to Samuel Wrote*, Virginia, March 28, 1623.

[2] This fort, as well as the structures erected in later years, was placed on Fort (Burial) Hill, the hill being already enclosed with the pale. "This work was begun with great eagerness, and with the approbation of all men, hoping that this being once finished, and a continual guard there kept, it would utterly discourage the savages from having any hopes or thoughts of rising against us. And though it took the greatest part of our strength from dressing our corn, yet, life being continued, we hoped God would raise some means in stead thereof for our further preservation." Winslow, *Good Newes*, *13.

From some sentences in this tract by Winslow (*39–40) it appears that more than ten months were required to complete the fort, and that some of the members of the settlement looked with disfavor upon this construction. "Those works which tend to the preservation of man, the enemy of mankind will hinder, what in him lieth, sometimes blinding the judgment, and causing reasonable men to reason against their own safety; as amongst us divers seeing the work prove tedious, would have dissuaded from proceeding, flattering themselves with peace and security, and accounting it rather a work of superfluity and vainglory, than simple necessity." The anxieties were increased by the conduct of Massasoit, who "seemed to frown on us, and neither came or sent to us as formerly."

"Since the newes of the massacre in Virginia, though the Indians continue their wonted friendship, yet are we more wary of them then before; for their hands hath bin embrued in much English blood, onely by too much confidence, but not by force." Abstract of letters sent from the Collony in New England, July 16, 1622. In Smith, *Generall Historie*, 236. If he is abstracting the same letters in a later paragraph, the settlers still affirmed the fine qualities of the air, soil and products of New England, and that "they are building a strong fort, they hope shortly to finish, and in the interim they are wel prouided: their number is about a hundred persons, all in health, and well neare 60 acres of ground well planted with corne, besides their gardens well replenished with useful fruits. . . . And to conclude in their owne words, should they write of all plenties they haue found, they thinke they should not be beleeued."

served them allso for a meeting house, and was fitted accordingly for that use. It was a great worke for them in this weaknes and time of wants; but the deanger of the time required it, and both the continuall rumors of the fears from the Indeans hear, espetially the Narigansets, and also the hearing of that great massacre in Virginia, made all hands willing to despatch the same.

Now the wellcome time of harvest aproached, in which all had their hungrie bellies filled.[1] But it arose but to a litle, in comparison of a full years supplie; partly by reason they were not yet well aquainted with the manner of Indean corne, (and they had no other,) allso their many other imployments, but cheefly their weaknes for wante of food, to tend it as they should have done. Also much was stolne both by night and day, before it became scarce eatable, and much more afterward.[2] And though many were well whipt (when they were taken) for a few ears of corne, yet hunger made others (whom conscience did not restraines[3]) to venture. So as it well appeared that famine must still insue the next year allso, if not some way prevented, or supplie should faile, to which they durst not trust. Markets ther was non to goe too, but only the Indeans, and they had no trading comodities. Behold now another providence of God; a ship comes into the har[91]bor, one Captain Jones being cheefe ther in.[4] They were set out by some

[1] Against this paragraph and on the reverse of page [79] Bradford inserted an account of a drought; but finding he had mistaken the year, he re-wrote it against page [103], where it will be found.

[2] Winslow charges what was probably true, that Weston's people stole the corn. "That little store of corn we had was exceedingly wasted by the unjust and dishonest walking of these strangers; who, though they would sometimes seem to help us in our labor about our corn, yet spared not day and night to steal the same, it being then eatable and pleasant to taste, though green and unprofitable. And though they received much kindness, set light both by it and us, not sparing to requite the love we showed them, with secret backbitings, revilings, &c. the chief of them being forestalled and made against us before they came, as after appeared." *Good Newes*, *13.

[3] The final *s* may have been intended for the last half of the parenthesis.

[4] Thomas Jones in 1617 commanded the *Lion*, one of two ships sent to the East

marchants to discovere all the harbors betweene this and Virginia, and the shoulds of Cap-Cod, and to trade along the coast wher they could. This ship had store of English-beads (which were then good trade) [1] and some knives, but would sell none but at dear rates, and also a good quantie togeather. Yet they weere glad of the occasion, and faine to buy at any rate; they were faine to give after the rate of cento per cento, if not more, and yet pay away coat-beaver at

Indies by Sir Robert Rich, afterwards Earl of Warwick. The adventure, as was not unusual, became one of piracy, and, chasing a junk of the Mogul's mother, Jones was arrested and sent home for trial. The specific charge brought against him by the East India Company, whose trade was threatened by these piratical expeditions, was, the "hiring away of their men," for the King of Denmark. While awaiting his trial, he was engaged by the Earl to take some cattle to Virginia, and bond was given for his appearance, when wanted. Jones took the *Falcon* to Virginia, with John Clark, as his mate. In its meeting of November 21, 1621, the Virginia Company granted a commission for fishing and trading to Captain Thomas Jones, master of the *Discovery*, a vessel of sixty tons burden. A capital of £900 was subscribed, of which one third was adventured in this voyage, the object being to cut out the French and Dutch ships from "a most certaine and beneficiall trade of Furs to be had with the Indians in Virginia in the lymittes of the Southerne Colony" and in the Delaware and Hudsons rivers. Expedition was enjoined, as some Dutch ships had recently left Holland for trade; but Jones did not reach Jamestown until April, 1622, and brought up at New Plymouth in August. So active was he in carrying out his instructions that he was charged (December, 1622), by the Council of the New England Company, with robbing the natives of New England of their furs and taking some prisoners, who fortunately escaped. The Virginia Company denounced the wickedness of the Captain and mariners of this venture, by which the adventurers were quite overthrown. Later, in 1625, he was suspected of an illegal seizure of a Spanish vessel in the West Indies, which he brought to Virginia, and there died. *Records of the Virginia Company*, I. 562, 567; *Records of the Council for New England*, 78; *Va. Hist. Mag.*, XV. 367; XVI. 5.

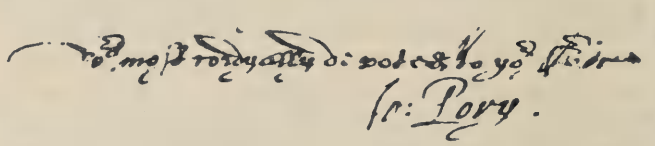
[1] "The money with which they will buy their food, wood, bark house, and other necessaries, is little beads or tubes of glass, knives, awls, blankets, kettles, hatchets, and similar things: this is the money they must carry with them." Le Jeune in 1634, *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites), VII, 223. Some of the natives used shell beads for currency, but readily preferred those of glass or porcelain brought from Europe in the trading ships. Beads are not mentioned in the inventory of goods at Trelawney's station on Richmond Island, — but eleven dozen knives were valued at £2.0.3. or about four pence each.

3*s*. per *li*., which in a few years after yeelded 20*s*. By this means they were fitted againe to trade for beaver and other things, and intended to buy what corne they could.[1]

But I will hear take liberty to make a litle digression. Ther was in *this ship* a gentle-man by name Mr. John Poory; he had been secretarie in Virginia, and was now going home passenger *in this ship*.[2]

[1] "Of Captain Jones we furnished ourselves of such provisions as we most needed, and he could best spare; who, as he used us kindly, so made us pay largely for the things we had. And had not the Almighty, in his all-ordering providence, directed him to us, it would have gone worse with us than ever it had been, or after was; for as we had now but small store of corn for the year following, so, for want of supply, we were worn out of all manner of trucking-stuff, not having any means left to help ourselves by trade; but through God's good mercy to us, he had wherewith, and did supply our wants on that kind competently." Winslow, *Good Newes*, *15.

[2] John Pory (1570?–1635) early became interested in the study of geography, and, in 1600, made a translation of John Leo's *Geographical Historie of Africa*, dedicating it to Sir Robert Cecil.



Pory, in the title, describes himself as "lately of Goneuill and Caius College in Cambridge." His friend in this endeavor was Richard Hakluyt, who thus spoke of Pory in the epistle dedicatory to Sir Robert Cecil in the third volume of his collection of voyages: "Now because long since I did foresee that my profession of divinity, the care of my family, and other occasions might call and divert me from these kind of endeuors, I haue for these 3 yeares last past encouraged and furthered in these studies of Cosmographie and forren histories, my very honest, industrious, and learned friend, Mr. John Pory, one of speciall skill and extraordinary hope to performe great matters in the same, and beneficial for the commonwealth." He travelled much in Europe, and held some connections with the English embassies. In 1618 Sir George Yeardley offered him the secretaryship for Virginia, and he arrived in the colony April 19 of the following year. He served on the council in Virginia and was speaker of the first House of Burgesses. He sailed from Virginia for England on the *Discovery*, and thus touched at New England, and after that fell into some adventures. "Our old acquaintance, Mr. Pory, is in poor case, and in prison at the Terceras, whither he was driven, by contrary winds, from the north coast of Virginia, where he had been upon some discovery, and upon his arrival was arraigned, and in danger of being hanged as a pirate." *Chamberlain to Carleton*, July 26, 1623. He returned to Virginia in 1624.

ANNOTATIONS
UPON THE FOURTH BOOK
OF MOSES, *CALLED*

NUMBERS.

WHEREIN, BY CONFERENCE OF THE *SCRIPTVRES, BY COMPARING THE GREEK AND* Chaldee Verſions, and teſtimonies of Hebrew writers; the Lawes and Ordinances given of old unto Iſrael in this book, are explained.

By *Henry Ainſworth.*

I Will put you in remembrance, though ye once knew this, how that the Lord having ſaved a people out of the land of Egypt, afterward deſtroyed them that beleeved not. Iude *v.* 5.

Fourtie yeres was I grieved with this *generation.* Pſal. 95. 10.

But with whom was he grieved fourtie yeres? was it *not with them that had ſynned, whoſe carkeſſes fell in the wildernes? And to whom ſware he, that they ſhould not enter into his reſt; but to them that beleeved not? So wee ſee, that they could not enter in, becauſe of unbeleef. Let us labour therfore to enter into that Reſt, leſt any man fall after the ſame example of unbeleef.*
Heb. 3. 17. 18. 19. & 4. 11.

Imprinted in the yere 1619.

After his departure he write a leter to the Gov[erno]r in the post-scrite whereof he hath these lines.

To your selfe and Mr. Brewster, I must acknowledg my selfe many ways indebted, whose books I would have you thinke very well bestowed on him, who esteemeth them shuch juells. My hast would not suffer me to remember (much less to begg) Mr. Ainsworths elaborate worke upon the · 5 · books of Moyses.[1] Both his and Mr. Robinsons doe highly comend the authors, as being most conversante in the scriptures of all others. And what good (who knows) it may please God to worke by them, through my hands, (though most unworthy,) who finds shuch high contente in them. God have you all in his keeping.

Your unfained and firme freind,

Aug. 28. 1622. JOHN PORY.

These things I hear inserte for honour sake of the authores memorie, which this gentle-man doth thus ingeniusly acknowledg; and him selfe after his returne did this poore-plantation much credite amongst those of no mean ranck. But to returne. [92]

Shortly after harvest Mr. Westons people who were now seated at the Massachusets, and by disorder (as it seems) had made havock of their provissions, begane now to perceive that want would come upon them.[2] And hearing that they hear had bought trading como-

[1] From 1616 to 1619 Ainsworth printed each year a volume of *Annotations* on one of the five books of Moses, and on the completion of the series they were gathered into one volume, "Annotations upon the five Books of Moses," which was issued in five different impressions before 1640. It is well described as "elaborate," for it contained fourteen hundred quarto pages and must have enjoyed no little reputation in its day, and even at a later time. For in 1690 a translation into the Dutch appeared, in 1692, one into the German, and in 1846 the series was issued in a modern setting.

[2] "When they came there, they neither applied themselves to planting of corn nor taking of fish, more than for their present use, but went about to build castles in the air, and making of forts, neglecting the plentiful time of fishing. When winter came their forts would not keep out hunger, and they having no provision beforehand, and wanting both powder and shot to kill deer and fowl, many were starved to death, and the rest hardly escaped." Levett, *Voyage*, 3 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VIII. 182.

Before the harvest Weston's men were creating trouble. "They had not been long

dities and intended to trade for corne, they write to the Gov[erno]r and desired they might joyne with them, and they would imploy their small ship in the servise; and furder requested either to lend or sell them so much of their[1] trading comodities as their part might come to, and they would undertake to make paymente when Mr. Weston, or their supply, should come. The Gov[erno]r condesended upon equall terms of agreemente, thinkeing to goe aboute the Cap to the southward with the ship, wher some store of corne might be got. Althings being provided, Captaint Standish was apointed to goe with them, and Squanto for a guid and interpreter, about the *latter end of September;* but the winds put them in againe, and putting out the ·2· time, he fell sick of a feavor, so the Gov[erno]r wente him selfe.[2] But they could not get aboute the should of Cap-Cod, for flats and breakers, neither could Squanto directe them bet-

from us, ere the Indians filled our ears with clamors against them, for stealing their corn, and other abuses conceived by them. At which we grieved the more, because the same men [*i.e.* the Indians], in mine own hearing, had been earnest in persuading Captain Standish, before their coming, to solicit our Governor to send some of his men to plant by them, alleging many reasons how it might be commodious for us. But we knew no means to redress those abuses, save reproof, and advising them to better walking, as occasion served." Winslow, *Good Newes*, *14.

The *Charity* returned to England in the end of September, or beginning of October, leaving Weston's colony "sufficiently victualled, as some of most credit amongst them reported." The *Swan* remained, "for their further help." *Ib.* *15.

[1] Bradford had first written "our."

[2] The expedition was crossed more than once. First by the sudden death at Plymouth of "Master Richard Greene, brother-in-law to Master Weston; who from him had a charge in the oversight and government of his Colony," and who received a "burial befitting his place, in the best manner we could." Sanders succeeded to Greene and directed the vessel to go; but twice under Standish was she driven back by cross and violent winds. The Captain falling sick of a fever, and the growing necessities of the plantation, induced Bradford to take his place: "our own wants being like to be now greater than formerly, partly because we were enforced to neglect our corn and spend much time in fortification, but especially because such havock was made of that little we had, through the unjust and dishonest carriage of those people before mentioned, at our first entertainment of them." The final sailing did not take place until November. Winslow, *Good Newes*, *16.

ter, nor the m[aste]r durst venture any further, so they put into Manamoyack Bay and got with [what] they could ther.[1] In this

[1] One of the objects of this voyage was to find "that supposed, and still hoped, passage within the shoals," through which Tisquantum insisted he had twice passed, in English and French vessels. In this belief he was supported by the Indians at Manamoyack (see below). After the death of Tisquantum the expedition turned back, "because the master's sufficiency was much doubted, and the season very tempestuous, and not fit to go upon discovery, having no guide to direct them." Winslow, *Good Newes*, *18. Winslow says that at Manamoyack harbor, they sounded it and "found the channel, though but narrow and crooked; where at length they harboured the ship. Here they perceived that the tide set in and out with more violence at some other place more southerly, which they had not seen nor could discover, by reason of the violence of the season all the time of their abode there. Some judged the entrance thereof might be beyond the shoals; but there is no certainty thereof as yet known." *Ib.* *16.

"That night [on reaching Manamoyack harbor] the Governor, accompanied with others, having Tisquantum for his interpreter, went ashore. At first the inhabitants played least in sight, because none of our people had ever been there before; but understanding the ends of their coming, at length came to them, welcoming our Governor according to their savage manner; refreshing them very well with store of venison and other victuals, which they brought them in great abundance; promising to trade with them, with a seeming gladness of the occasion. Yet their joy was mixed with much jealousy, as appeared by their after practices; for at first they were loth their dwellings should be known; but when they saw our Governor's resolution to stay on the shore all night, they brought him to their houses, having first conveyed all their stuff to a remote place, not far from the same; which one of our men, walking forth occasionally, espied. Where upon, on the sudden, neither it nor they could be found; and so many times after, upon conceived occasions, they would be all gone, bag and baggage. But being afterwards, by Tisquantum's means better persuaded, they left their jealousy, and traded with them; where they got eight hogsheads of corn and beans, though the people were but few. This gave our Governor and the company good encouragement; Tisquantum being still confident in the passage, and the inhabitants affirming they had seen ships of good burthen pass within the shoals aforesaid." Winslow, *Good Newes*, *17.

An Indian shared what he had with a visitor or a stranger, and it was probably as much a fear of exhausting his supply of grain, as a wish to conceal what he had, that led to this removal and evasion. "They are quicke; in halfe a day, yea, sometimes at few houres warning to be gone and the house up elsewhere; especially, if they have stakes readie pitcht for their *Mats*." Williams, *Key into the Language of America* (Narragansett Club), 75.

place Squanto fell sick of an Indean feavor, bleeding much at the nose (which the Indeans take for a simptome of death), and within a few days dyed ther; desiring the Gov[erno]r to pray for him, that he might goe to the Englishmens God in heaven, and bequeathed sundrie of his things to sundry of his English freinds, as remembrances of his love; of whom they had a great loss. They got in this vioage, in one place and other, about ·26· or ·28· hogsheads of corne and beans, which was more then the Indeans could well spare in these parts, for they set but a litle till they got English hows.[1] And so

[1] After the death of Tisquantum the party went to Massachusetts, where they expected to obtain corn planted for them by the Indians. They were disappointed, however, finding a great sickness, not unlike the plague, prevailing among the natives, and much dissatisfaction among the Indians through the "injurious walking" of the Wessagusset people. "Indeed the trade both for furs and corn was overthrown in that place, they giving as much for a quart of corn as we used to do for a beaver's skin; so that little good could be there done." Thence they returned into the bottom of the bay of Cape Cod, visiting Nauset, where the Sachem, Aspinet, received the Governor kindly and eight or ten hogsheads of corn and beans were obtained. Also at Mattachiest they had kind entertainment and some corn. The stormy weather continued and endangered much their vessel. The shallop was cast away, depriving them of the means of loading corn on the vessel, which lay distant about two leagues, and having only a small and leaky boat of her own, unfitted even to carry wood and water. "Hereupon the Governor caused the corn to be made in a round stack, and bought mats, and cut sedge, to cover it; and gave charge to the Indians not to meddle with it, promising him that dwelt next to it a reward, if he would keep vermin also from it; which he undertook, and the sachem promised to make good." The shallop was found almost buried in the sand at high water mark, unserviceable for the present, but having many things remaining in her. Entrusting her also to the care of the natives, the Governor resolved to return to Plymouth by land, a distance of some fifty miles. Having procured a guide, he and his party started, "receiving all respect that could be from the Indians in his journey, and came safely home, though weary and surbated; whither some three days after the ship also came." Winslow, *Good Newes*, *18. Upon the return of this party, another, led by Standish and accompanied by the carpenter of the Weston settlement, set out to get the corn and recover the shallop, which was safely accomplished, with no little difficulty in January, 1622–23. *Ib.* *19.

It was the Nauset Indians who had shown the first hostilities to the Pilgrims (p. 170, *supra*). Winslow gives an account of the theft and return of some articles while at Nauset at this time. *Good Newes*, *20.

were faine to returne, being sory they could not gett about the Cap, to have been better laden. After ward the Gov[erno]r tooke a few men and wente to the inland places,[1] to get what he could, and to fetch it home at the spring, which did help them something. [93][2]

After these things, in *Feb*[*ruary*], a messenger came from John Sanders, who was left cheefe over Mr. Westons men in the bay of Massachusets, who brought a letter[3] shewing the great wants they

[1] The inland places were Namasket and Manomet [now Monument], and Hobbamock acted as interpreter.

[2] The settlement "is now almost able to comfort itself," was the report of the Council of New England in 1622, when asking for a continuation of the countenance of Prince Charles, under which "it will speedily grow, both to serve his majesty with honour and profit, and multiply the same service to your highness in time to come, as a tribute due for the grace it receives, by the blessings of a long peace and prosperity that our nation enjoys under the reign of his sacred majesty, through which we have the easier passage to advance the cross of Christ in heathen parts, and to display his banner in the head of his army against infernal spirits, which have so long kept those poor distressed creatures (the inhabitants of those parts) in bondage." *A Briefe Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England*, 1622, Epistle dedicatory.

"Wee haue setled at this present, seuerall Plantations along the Coast, and haue granted Patents to many more that are in preparation to bee gone with all conueniencie. Those of our people that are there, haue both health and plenty, so as they acknowledge there is no want of any thing, but of industrious people, to reape the commodities that are there to be had, and they are indeed so much affected to the place, as they are loth to be drawne from thence, although they were directed to returne to giue satisfaction to those that sent them, but chose rather to performe that office by letters, together with their excuse, for breach of their duty in that behalfe." *Ib.* *28.

[3] The letter was written by Sanders, and stated "that being in great want, and their people daily falling down, he intended to go to Munhiggen, where was a plantation of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, to buy bread from the ships that came thither a fishing, with the first opportunity of wind; but knew not how the colony would be preserved till his return. He had used all means both to buy and borrow of Indians, whom he knew to be stored, and he thought maliciously withheld it, and therefore was resolved to take it by violence, and only waited the return of the messenger, which he desired should be hastened, craving his advice therein, promising also to make restitution afterward. The Governor, upon the receipt hereof, asked the messenger [an Indian] what store of corn they had, as if he had intended to buy of them; who answered, very little more than that they reserved for seed, having already spared all they could." Winslow, *Good Newes*, *35.

A RELATION OR Iournall of the beginning and proceedings of the Engliſh Plantation ſetled at *Plimoth* in NEW ENGLAND, by certaine Engliſh Aduenturers both Merchants and others.

With their difficult paſſage, their ſafe ariuall, their ioyfull building of, and comfortable planting themſelues in the now well defended Towne of NEW PLIMOTH.

AS ALSO A RELATION OF FOVRE ſeuerall diſcoueries ſince made by ſome of the ſame Engliſh Planters there reſident.

I. In a iourney to PVCKANOKICK *the habitation of the Indians greateſt King* Maſſaſoyt : *as alſo their meſſage, the anſwer and entertainment they had of him.*

II. In a voyage made by ten of them to the Kingdome of Nawſet, *to ſeeke a boy that had loſt himſelfe in the woods : with ſuch accidents as befell them in that voyage.*

III. In their iourney to the Kingdome of Namaſchet, *in defence of their greateſt King* Maſſaſoyt, *againſt the* Narrohiggonſets, *and to reuenge the ſuppoſed death of their Interpreter* Tiſquantum.

IIII. Their voyage to the Maſſachuſets, *and their entertainment there.*

With an anſwer to all ſuch obiections as are any way made againſt the lawfulneſſe of Engliſh plantations in thoſe parts.

LONDON,
Printed for *Iohn Bellamie*, and are to be ſold at his ſhop at the two Greyhounds in Cornhill neere the Royall Exchange. 1622.

were falen into; and he would have borrowed a hh of corne of the Indeans, but they would lend him none. He desired advice whether he might not take it from them by force to succore his men till he came from the eastward, whither he was going. The Gov[erno]r and rest deswaded him by all means from it, for it might so exasperate the Indeans as might endanger their saftie, and all of us might smart for it; for they had already heard how they had so wronged the Indeans by stealing their corne, etc., as they were much incensed against them.[1] Yea, so base were some of their own company, as

[1] The letter was signed by the Governor and his councillors, and was thus summarized by Winslow (*Good Newes*, *35): "We altogether disliked their intendment, as being against the law of God and nature, showing how it would cross the worthy ends and proceedings of the King's Majesty, and his honorable Council for this place, both in respect of the peaceable enlarging of his Majesty's dominions, and also of the propagation of the knowledge and law of God, and the glad tidings of salvation, which we and they were bound to seek, and were not to use such means as would breed a distaste in the salvages against our persons and professions, assuring them their master [Weston] would incur much blame hereby, neither could they answer the same. For our own parts, our case was almost the same with theirs, having but a small quantity of corn left, and were enforced to live on ground-nuts, clams, muscles, and such other things as naturally the country afforded, and which did and would maintain strength, and were easy to be gotten; all which things they had in great abundance, yea, oysters also, which we wanted; and therefore necessity could not be said to constrain them thereunto. Moreover, that they should consider, if they proceeded therein, all they could so get would maintain them but a small time, and then they must perforce seek their food abroad; which, having made the Indians their enemies, would be very difficult for them, and therefore much better to begin a little the sooner, and so continue their peace; upon which course they might with good conscience desire and expect the blessing of God; whereas on the contrary they could not.

"Also that they should consider their own weakness, being most swelled, and diseased in their bodies, and therefore the more unlikely to make their party good against them, and that they should not expect help from us in that or any the like unlawful actions. Lastly, that howsoever some of them might escape, yet the principal agents should expect no better than the gallows, whensoever any special officer should be sent over by his Majesty, or his Council for New England, which we expected, and who would undoubtedly call them to account for the same." Bradford also sent a personal letter to Sanders, "showing him how dangerous it would be for him

they wente and tould the Indeans that their Gov[erno]r was purposed to come and take their corne by force.[1] The which with other things made them enter into a conspiracie against the English, of which more in the nexte. Hear with I end this year.[2]

above all others, being he was their leader and commander; and therefore in friendly manner advised him to desist."

The Wessagusset people laid aside their plan of seizing the Indians' corn, and Sanders, provisioned by Plymouth for the voyage, and ignorant of the intentions of the natives, sailed about the end of February in a shallop for Monhegan, leaving others with instructions to oversee things till his return.

[1] Hubbard states that this was "reported by some that survived sometime after the planting of the Massachusetts Colony." *History*, 77.

[2] Bradford had noted many things proving the growing hostility of the Indians. In February, 1622–23, Standish went to Mattachiest to obtain corn, and stood on guard against attack, though he could not explain the grounds of his suspicion. The thievish propensity of the Indians was again seen, as at Nauset upon a former occasion, and the bold front of Standish must have produced its effect upon the natives. In March, he went again to Manomet, but did not receive that entertainment which had been shown to Bradford. During this visit two messengers came from the Massachusetts tribe to induce the Manomet Indians to join in the intended destruction of the English at Wessagusset and at Plymouth. Standish could not but notice the bold conduct of one of these messengers, Wituwamat by name, and the better entertainment given to him. An Indian from Paomet was also there, and in the conspiracy, and they hoped to be able to make way with Standish and his party on so fair an opportunity. While their grievances lay particularly against the Wessagusset people, the Indians were fully aware that those of New Plymouth would not permit the death of an Englishman to remain unavenged. The plan therefore included the destruction of both plantations. Standish, on his guard and watchful, escaped any mishap, but treasured up his anger against Wituwamat. Winslow, *Good Newes*, *24. The colonists had very fresh reminders of the dangers they ran in their relations with the Indians. The Virginians were taking precautions for their own safety and executing revenge upon the natives. A ballad describing the punitive expedition was printed in London in the spring of 1623, and the text is given in Neill, *Virginia Vetusta*, 147.

Anno Dom: ·1623·

IT may be thought strang that these people should fall to these extremities in so short a time, being left competently provided when the ship left them, and had an addition by that moyetie of corn that was got by trade, besides much they gott of the Ind[e]ans wher they lived, by one means and other. It must needs be their great disorder, for they spent excesseivly whilst they had, or could get it; and, it may be, wasted parte away among the Indeans (for he that was their cheef was taxed by some amongst them for keeping Indean women, how truly I know not). And after they begane to come into wants, many sould away their cloathes and bed coverings; others (so base were they) became servants to the Indeans, and would cutt them woode and fetch them water, for a cap full of corne; others fell to plaine stealing, both night and day, from the Indeans, of which they greevosly complained.[1] In the end, they

[1] Winslow states that before he went to visit Massasoit, "we heard many complaints, both by the Indians, and some others of best desert amongst Master Weston's colony, how exceedingly their company abased themselves by undirect means, to get victuals from the Indians, who dwelt not far from them, fetching them wood and water, &c. and all for a meal's meat; whereas, in the mean time, they might with diligence have gotten enough to have served them three or four times. Other by night brake the earth, and robbed the Indians' store; for which they had been publicly stocked and whipped, and yet was there small amendment. This was about the end of February; at which time they had spent all their bread and corn, not leaving any for seed, neither would the Indians lend or sell them any more upon any terms. Hereupon they had thoughts to take it by violence; and to that spiked up every entrance into their town, being well impaled, save one, with a full resolution to proceed." Winslow, *Good Newes*, *34.

Slaves among the Indians were not unknown. The Iroquois used their captives to assist their women in agriculture and in carrying burdens, and among the Algonquins, captured women and children were employed in the same way. Williams in his *Key* gives no word for slave, and the word for "he is my servant" (p. 63) means "he accompanies me."



WINTHROP'S MAP, SHOWING WESSAGUSSET

came to that misery, that some starved and dyed with could and hunger.[1] One in geathering shell-fish was so weake as he stuck fast in the mudd, and was found dead in the place. At last most of them left their dwellings and scatered up and downe in the [94] woods, and by the water sides, wher they could find ground nuts and clames, hear ·6· and ther ten. By which their cariages they became contemned and scorned of the Indeans, and they begane greatly to insulte over them in a most insolente maner; insomuch, many times as they lay thus scatered abrod, and had set on a pot with ground nuts[2] or shell-fish, when it was ready the Indeans would come and

[1] The parallel sufferings of the Ribaut colony in Florida are described by Parkman: "Conquest, gold, military occupation, — such had been their aims. Not a rood of ground had been stirred with the spade. Their stores were consumed: the expected supplies had not come. The Indians, too, were hostile. . . . Some were digging roots in the forest, or gathering a kind of sorrel upon the meadows. One collected refuse fish-bones, and pounded them into meal. . . . 'Oftentimes,' says Laudonnière, 'our poor soldiers were constrained to give away the very shirts from their backs to get one fish. If at any time they shewed unto the savages the excessive price which they tooke, these villaines would answere them roughly and churlishly: If thou make so great account of thy merchandise, eat it, and we will eat our fish: then fell they out a laughing and mocked us with open throat.'" *Pioneers of France in the New World*, 71, 72.

[2] Gosnold speaks of "ground nuts as big as eggs, as good as potatoes, and forty on a string not two ynches under ground." Smith's *Virginia*, 107. The Jesuit Relation for 1613–14 speaks of the *chiquebi* root, "peculiar to this coast, and is not unlike our potatoes, but more pleasant and useful for eating; its numerous bulbs, joined by a slender thread, grow deep in the earth." And again, they mention some roots "which the Savages eat in their time of need, and which are as good as Truffles." *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites), II. 169, 245. Champlain saw these roots cultivated by the Indians near Cape Cod and at Gloucester, and his editor, Slafter, believes they were those of the Jerusalem artichoke (*Helianthus tuberosus*), a plant originating in this part of America, carried to Italy, and there named *girasole* (sunflower), whence *Jerusalem* by corruption. This plant is believed to be figured between the two Indians in the illustration on p. 197, *supra*. Lescarbot gave the roots the local name *canadas*. There were other kinds of ground-nuts, among them *Arachis hypogaea* and *Apios tuberosa*. It is not a little strange that no word for ground-nut is found in Williams's *Key*. Trumbull gives the Micmac word *shuben* or *sgabun*, and the Abenaki *pen* as names of the wild or Indian potato. *Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, II. 26. For Champlain's repre-

eate it up;[1] and when night came, wheras some of them had a sorie blanket, or shuch like, to lappe them selves in, the Indeans would take it and let the other lye all nighte in the could; so as their condition was very lamentable. Yea, in the end they were faine to hange one of their men, whom they could not reclaime from stealing, to give the Indeans contente.[2]

sentation of the plants noted in his travels in North America, see the illustration facing p. 358, *infra.*

[1] Pratt reported the growing boldness of the Indians towards the Wessagusset people, "insomuch as the victuals they got, they would take it out of their pots, and eat before their faces; yea, if in any thing they gainsaid them, they were ready to hold a knife at their breasts; that to give them content, since John Sanders went to Munhiggen, they had hanged one of them that stole their corn, and yet they regarded it not; that another of their company was turned salvage; that their people had most forsaken the town, and made their rendezvous where they got their victuals, because they would not take pains to bring it home; that they had sold their clothes for corn, and were ready to starve both with cold and hunger also, because they could not endure to get victuals by reason of their nakedness; and that they were dispersed into three companies, scarce having any powder and shot left." Winslow, *Good Newes*, *38.

[2] When the Indians were gathering round the settlement, preparing to strike, the chief was asked what wrong the English had committed. "He answered, 'some of you steele our Corne and I have sent you word times without number and yet our Corne is stole. I come to see what you will doe.' We answered, 'It is on man wich hath don it. Your men have seen vs whip him divers times, besids other manor of punishments, and now heare he is Bound. We give him vnto you to doe with him what you please.' He answered, 'that is not just dealeing. If my men wrong my nabur sacham, or his men, he sends me word and I beat or kill my men, acording to the ofenc. If his men wrong me or my men, I send him word and he beats or kills his men Acording to the ofenc. All Sachams do Justis by thayr own men. If not we say they ar all Agreed and then we Fite, and now I say you all steele my Corne.' " The offender was released, but was soon brought in by the Indians upon a new charge of stealing corn. He was kept bound for some days. Phinehas Pratt, in 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, IV. 482. The Indians becoming more threatening the culprit was hanged in the sight of the natives, and having done justice, the whites made a sortie against the Indians, who fled on their approach. This Wessagusset hanging has been celebrated in the verse of Butler, who devotes some lines to it in *Hudibras* (canto II. ll. 409–436). He assumes that one other than the chief thief was executed, and so the story has come to be related. Thomas Morton in his *New English Canaan* makes the same statement, but cannot

Whilst things wente in this maner with them, the Gov[erno]r and people hear had notice that Massasoyte ther freind was sick and near unto death.[1] They sent to vissete him, and with all sente him shuch comfortable things as gave him great contente, and was a means of his recovery; upon which occasion he discovers the conspiracie of these Indeans, how they were resolved to cutt of Mr. Westons people, for the continuall injuries they did them, and would now take opportunitie of their weaknes to doe it; and for that end had conspired with other Indeans their neighbours their aboute. And thinking the people hear would revenge their death, they ther-

have served to give Butler the idea of a vicarious sacrifice. The subject, now little more than a literary curiosity, receives full notice in Adams' edition of the *New English Canaan*, 96, 251 *n*, and in his *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History*, 79–82. Roger Williams, in describing the manner of executing judgments among the Indians, states that the "most usuall Custome amongst them in executing punishments, is for the *Sachim* either to beat, or whip, or put to death with his owne hand."

[1] The intelligence came in March, while Standish was at Manomet. As a Dutch vessel had been cast on the shore near the chief's dwelling place, the occasion offered an opportunity to visit Massasoit, as was the Indian custom, and to confer with the Dutch. Winslow and John Hamden, "a gentleman of London," fitted with some cordials for the sick man, went to the aid of Massasoit, with Hobbamock as a guide. The story of this mission of mercy is told at some length by Winslow, in *Good Newes*, *26. The Dutch had succeeded in getting their vessel free, and had departed before Winslow arrived; "so that in that respect our journey was frustrate." The cure was soon made, depending as it did upon the somewhat better prepared food supplied by Winslow, and a release from the noise and charms which constituted the basis of Indian treatment. It is quite within bounds to say that the Indians knew nothing of medicine, and the few simples they used were offered in ignorance by the Powah. Williams notes that "they have not (but what sometimes they get from the English) a raisin or currant or any physick, Fruit or spice, or any Comfort more than their Corne and Water, &c." *Key into the Language of America* (Narragansett Club), 209.

Massasoit told Hobbamock of the plot against the English, naming the Massachusetts Indians as the chief agents, and implicating the natives of Nauset, Paomet, Sokones, Mattachiest, Manomet, Agawam and the isle of Capawack. Most of these were bound by the article of allegiance, signed by the chiefs in 1621. On Winslow's return from Sowams, another Indian, "Wassapinewat, brother to Obtakiest, the sachem of the Massachusetts, who had formerly smarted for partaking with Conbitant, and fearing the like again, to purge himself, revealed the same thing." Winslow, *Good Newes*, *32, 37.

fore thought to doe the like by them, and had solisited him to joyne with them. He advised them therfore to prevent it, and that speedly by taking of some of the cheefe of them, before it was to late, for he asured them of the truth hereof.[1]

This did much trouble them, and they tooke it in to serious delibration, and found upon examenation other evidence to give light hear unto, to longe hear to relate. In the mean time, came one of them[2] from the Massachucets, with a small pack at his back; and though he knew not a foote of the way, yet he got safe hither, but lost his way, which was well for him, for he was pursued, and so was mist.[3] He tould them hear how all things stood amongst them,

[1] "As we respected the lives of our countrymen, and our own after safety, he advised us to kill the men of Massachuset, who were the authors of this intended mischief. And whereas we were wont to say, we would not strike a stroke till they first began; if, said he, upon this intelligence, they make that answer, tell them, when their countrymen at Wichaguscusset [Wessagusset] are killed, they being not able to defend themselves, that then it will be too late to recover their lives; nay, through the multitude of adversaries, they shall with great difficulty preserve their own; and therefore he counselled without delay to take away the principals, and then the plot would cease." Winslow, *Good Newes*, *32.

[2] Morton (*Memoriall*,* 42) says, "This mans name was Phinehas Pratt, who hath penned the particular of his perillous Journey, and some other things relating to this Tragedy." The narrative is printed in 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, IV. 476. With some stratagem he left the settlement before morning, and ran to the southward till three o'clock in the afternoon, snow lying on the ground. That night about sundown he forded a river, and coming to a deep dell, built a fire and passed the night by it. Noting the direction by the stars, he set out in the morning, but returned to the fire and made a second start, reaching about three in the afternoon the territory later occupied by Duxbury. Keeping the water on his left he passed through the James River, found some tokens of settlers, and soon after met John Hamden, one of the messengers to Massasoit, who told Pratt of the Indian plot. The party engaged in making canoes returned to Plymouth, and the next day the Indians who had pursued Pratt from Wessagusset came to inquire for him. This messenger, missing Pratt, went on to Manomet, and was intercepted by Bradford at Plymouth on his return. "So he was locked in a chain to a staple in the court of guard, and there kept. Thus was our fort hanselled, this being the first day, as I take it, that ever any watch was kept there."

Phinehas Pratt.

[3] Writing some twelve years later, William Wood gives a description of this terri-

and that he durst stay no longer, he apprehended they (by what he observed) would be all knokt in the head shortly. This made them make the more hast, and dispatched a boate away with Capten Standish and some men, who found them in a miserable condition, out of which he rescued them, and helped them to some releef, cut of some few of the cheefe conspirators, and, according to his order, offered to bring them all hither if they thought good; and they should fare no worse then them selves, till Mr. Weston or some supplie came to them.[1] Or, if any other course liked them

tory which may explain how Pratt lost his way: "It being the custome of the *Indians* to burne the wood in *November*, when the grasse is withered, and leaves dryed, it consumes all the underwood, and rubbish, which otherwise would overgrow the Countrey, making it unpassable, and spoyle their much affected hunting: so that by this meanes in those places where the *Indians* inhabit, there is scarce a bush or bramble, or any combersome underwood to be seene in the more champion ground. Small wood growing in these places where the fire could not come, is preserved. In some places where the *Indians* died of the Plague some fourteene yeeres agoe, is much underwood, as in the mid way betwixt *Wessaguscus* and *Plimouth*, because it hath not beene burned; certaine Rivers stopping the fire from comming to cleare that place of the countrey, hath made it unusefull and troublesome to travell thorow, in so much that it is called ragged plaine, because it teares and rents the cloathes of them that passe." *New Englands Prospect*, *13.

[1] The Governor, "having a double testimony, and many circumstances agreeing with the truth thereof," took the advice of the body of the company on March 23, 1622–23, being a yearly court day. The importance of the issues involved, and the necessity for secrecy, led to the entire conduct of the punitive expedition to be entrusted to Bradford, his assistant, Allerton, and Standish. The last named was to take as many men as he thought sufficient to make his party good against all the Indians in the Massachusetts, and on pretence of trade he would first visit Wessagusset to learn the real situation, and then go to Massachusetts Bay, making sure of Wituwamat, "that bloody and bold villain before spoken of; whose head he had order to bring with him, that he might be a warning and terror to all of that disposition." Eight men were chosen for the expedition, and going to the Weston people found them scattered, unarmed, careless and oblivious of any danger. He offered them a refuge at Plymouth, or food if they decided to remain and aid in the punishment of the Indians. A native came, ostensibly to trade in furs, but really to learn what was being done, and seeing that Standish was angry, he feared their combination had been discovered. A menacing message from one of the chiefs, Peksuot, and some bragging threats from Wituwamat, decrying Standish to his face, occupied one day, and on the next,

better, he was to doe them any helpfullnes he could. They thanked him and the rest. But most of them desired he would help them with some corne, and they would goe with their smale ship to the

finding it impossible to get many of the chiefs together, Standish determined to act. Meeting four of the Indians in a room, with the same number of his own men, he "gave the word to his men, and the door being fast shut, began himself with Peksuot, and snatching his own knife from his neck, though with much struggling, killed him therewith, the point whereof he had made sharp as a needle and ground the back also to an edge. . . . But it is incredible how many wounds these two pineses received before they died, not making any fearful noise, but catching at their weapons and striving to the last." Peksuot, Wituwamat and a third Indian were killed in this room; a youth, about eighteen years of age, "which was brother to Wituwamat, and, villain-like, trod in his steps, daily putting many tricks upon the weaker sort of men," was hanged. In another place the Weston men killed two, and in a third place the Standish party killed one, permitting another to escape and so give the alarm. Three of Weston's men were with the Indians, of whom two suffered torture and death. The head of Wituwamat was brought to Plymouth, according to order, and exposed at the fort. Winslow, *Good Newes*, *37–45.

Winslow states that this determination was made before Pratt's arrival, who came on the day after the Standish party had been selected. Pratt says the rescue party left two or three days after his coming to Plymouth, but he "being fanted was not able to goe with them." Winslow, a better authority, starts the expedition on the day after Pratt had reported the conditions of the Wessagusset party.

Bradford was more full in writing in September. "We went to reskew the lives of our countrie-men, whom we thought (both by nature, and conscience) we were bound to deliver, as also to take veng[e]ance of them for their villanie entended and determined against us, which never did them harme, weaiting only for opertunitie to execute the same. But by the good providence of god they were taken in their owne snare, and ther wickednes came upon their owne pate; we kild seven of the cheife of them, and the head of one of them stands still on our forte for a terror unto others; they mett our men in the feild and shoat at them, but thank be to god not a man of them were hurte; neither could they hurte the Indeans with their peices, they did so shilter them selves behind great trees, only they brake the arm of a notable rogue as he was drawing his bow to shoot at Capten Standish, after which they came away." *Bradford's letter of September* 8, 1623. Printed in *American Historical Review*, VIII. 295.

The number of the combining chiefs was five, of whom the two principal were killed. The other three were powahs, known to the English, one of whom had his arm broken by a shot in an encounter with Standish. Obtakiest, sachem of the Massachusetts, whose brother had revealed the plan (p. 292), was also involved, being drawn into it by the importunity of his people. The course pursued by the Mas-

eastward, wher hapily they might here of Mr. Weston, or some supply from him, seing the time of the year was for fishing ships to be [95] in the land. If not, they would worke among the fishermen for their liveing, and get ther passage into England, if they heard nothing from Mr. Weston in time. So they shipped what they had of any worth, and he got them all the corne he could (scarce leaving to bring him home), and saw them well out of the bay, under saile at sea, and so came home, not takeing the worth of a peny of any thing that was theirs.[1] I have but touched these things breefly, because they have allready been published in printe more at large.[2]

sachusetts Indians was justified by the conduct of Weston's people. The Indians to the south of Plymouth were terrified by this summary measure, and "forsook their houses, running to and fro like men distracted, living in swamps and other desert places, and so brought manifold diseases among themselves, whereof very many are dead." They planted but little corn, and dared not come to Plymouth. Canacum, sachem of Manomet, Aspinet, sachem of Nauset, and Ianough, sachem of Mattachiest, are named by Winslow as among those who died. The treatment procured the desired end, and produced a wholesome fear among the Indians, who were not powerful enough to carry on such a war of revenge as did the Iroquois against the French, for the ill-timed interference of Champlain. On the justice and necessity of the act, see Adams, *Three Episodes*, 100.

This incident, however necessary to the preservation of the settlement, put an end to the trade in furs and corn with the Massachusetts. "We have been much endamaged in our trad, for ther wher we had most skins the Indeans are rune away from their habitations, and sett no corne, so as we can by no means as yet come to speake with them." *Bradford's letter of September* 8, 1623.

[1] "We gave the capten ordere, if Mr. Westons people would, that he should bring them to us and we would aford them the best secoure we could, or if they chose rather to goe to Monhegin, that then if he tooke any corne from the Indeans, he should let them have to victuall them thither (which accordingly was done, though ours had scarce enoughe to bring them home againe). Yet for all this, and much more they cannot afford us a good word but reproach us behind our backes." *Bradford's letter of September* 8, 1623. A part of them went to the Isles of Shoals, where Pratt says his "Company" (Weston's?) then was, and where later he joined them. How many of the Wessagusset settlement thus escaped destruction is not known. Pratt says that ten died of starvation, one dying on the vessel while going to the eastward. Three were killed by the Indians, and doubtless not a few died in the months of pri-

[2] Winslow, *Good Newes*, *25–47.

This was the end of these that some time bosted of their strength, (being all able lustie men,) and what they would doe and bring to pass, in comparison of the people hear, who had many women and children and weak ones amongst them; and said at their first arivall, when they saw the wants hear, that they would take an other course, and not fall into shuch a condition, as this simple people were come too. But a mans way is not in his owne power; God can make the weake to stand; let him also that standeth take heed least he fall.[1]

vation. Four of this plantation were among those left by Levett in Casco Bay. 2 *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, III. 102 *n.* With their fishing friends, they took some retaliation upon the Indians of Massachusetts Bay, perhaps urged to it by a knowledge of the torture inflicted upon their companions who had been seized by the Indians. "When we killed your men," the Indians reported, "they cried and maed Il fauored Fases." Winslow says this was the boast of Wituwamat. *Good Newes*, *24. Pratt indicates the descents made from the north. "Then we went with our ship into the Bay and took from them two Shalops Loading of Corne and of thayr men prisoners ther as [at?] a Towne of Later Time Caled Dorchester. The third and last time was in the bay of Agawam. At this Time they took for thayr casell a thick swamp. At this time on of our ablest men was shot in the sholder. Wether Any of them wear killed or wounded we could not tell." Narrative, 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, IV. 486. Pratt later became a member of the Plymouth settlement. A petition, presented by him in 1668, asking for help because of loss and suffering in the early days of the plantation, was sold in the Drake sale, November, 1885. It is printed in 4 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, IV. 487. Of the Wessagusset settlement nothing remained but the deserted block house.

[1] Morrell, who knew the situation of Wessagusset, and the history of Weston's plantation, drew this sound conclusion: "I conceiue that far distance of plantations produce many inconveniences and disabilities of planters, when as severall Colonies consist but of twentie, or thirtie, or about that number, which in a vast vncommanded Continent, makes them liable to many and miserable exigents, which weakens all vnion, and leaues them difficultly to be assisted against a potent or a daily enemy, and dangerously to be commanded; when as some one Bay well fortified would maintaine and inrich some thousands of persons, if it be planted with men, able, ingenious, and laborious, being well furnished with all provisions and necessaries for plantations. Besides, if one Bay be well peopled, its easily defended, surveyed, disciplined, and commanded, be the seasons never so vnseasonable, and all their Forces in few houres readie in Armes, either offensiuely to pursue, or defensiuely to subsist, convenient numbers ever at sea, and sufficient ever at home for all service, intelligence and discoverie." *New England*, at end.

Shortly after, Mr. Weston came over with some of the fishermen, under another name, and the disguise of a blacke-smith,[1] w[h]ere he heard of the ruine and disolution of his colony. He got a boat and with a man or · 2 · came to see how things were. But by the way, for wante of skill, in a storme, he cast away his shalop in the botome of the bay between Meremek river and Pascataquack, and hardly escaped with life,[2] and afterwards fell into the hands of the Indeans, who pillaged him of all he saved from the sea, and striped him out of all his cloaths to his shirte. At last he got to Pascataquack, and borrowed a suite of cloaths, and got means to come to Plimoth. A strang alteration ther was in him to shuch as had seen and known him in his former florishing condition; so uncertaine are the mutable things of this unstable world. And yet men set their harts upon them, though they dayly see the vanity therof.[3]

After many passages, and much discourse, (former things boyling in his mind, but bit in as was discernd,) so he desired to borrow[4] some beaver of them; and tould them he had hope of a ship and good supply to come to him, and then they should have any thing for it they stood in neede of. They gave litle credite to his supplie,

[1] Being a member of the Ironmongers Company in London the "disguise" would seem appropriate, were it not that the Blacksmiths had a separate guild and hall from the Ironmongers.

[2] Ipswich Bay, says Hubbard, *History*, 78.

[3] John Robinson wrote in his *New Essays*, ch. xv. printed in 1625: "Whilst crafty men deceive others, they themselves, though they little consider it, are most deceived by Satan, whose instruments they are, fitted for his hand, and purposes. And what avails it the ravenous bird to devour that, which belongs not to her, if therewith, she herself be taken by the leg in the fowler's snare? Besides, even in respect of men, howsoever such wily-beguiles may for a time, if they carry close, amongst other advantages, get the opinion of prudent and politic persons, and be accounted the more wise, by how much they have the more skill to deceive; (Petrarch), yet if their craftiness come to be found out and appear, they become often a prey to all, and always a scorn to the most simple; like the wily fox who being once caught, hath his skin plucked over his ears, wherewith every fool will have his cap furred, as a worthy lord was wont to say. (Lord Willoughby.)"

[4] Bradford had first written "loan."

but pitied his case, and remembered former curtesies.[1] They tould him he saw their wants, and they knew not when they should have any supply; also how the case stood betweene them and their adventurers, he well knew; they had not much bever, and if they should let him have it, it were enoughe to make a mutinie among the people, seeing ther was no other means to procure them foode which they so much wanted, and cloaths allso. Yet they tould him they would help him, considering his necessitie, but must doe it secretly for the former reasons. So they let him have ·100· beaver-skins, which waighed 170 *li.* odd pounds. Thus they helpt him when all the world faild him, and with this means he went againe to the ships, and stayed his small ship and some of his men, and bought provissions and fited him selfe; and it was the only foundation [96] of his after course. But he requited them ill, for he proved after a bitter enimie unto them upon all occasions, and never repayed them any thing for it, to this day, but reproches and evill words. Yea, he divolged it to some that were none of their best freinds, whilst he yet had the beaver in his boat; that he could now set them alltogeather by the ears, because they had done more then they could answer, in letting him have this beaver, and he did not spare to doe what he could. But his malice could not prevaile.

All this whille no supply was heard of, neither knew they when they might expecte any. So they begane to thinke how they might raise as much corne as they could, and obtaine a beter crope then they had done, that they might not still thus languish in miserie.[2]

[1] See p. 271, *supra.*

[2] Cushman, in December, 1621, had taught in his sermon at New Plymouth, "Even so men blow the bellows hard, when they have an iron of their own a heating, work hard whilst their own house is in building, dig hard whilst their own garden is in planting, but is it so as the profit must go wholly or partly to others; their hands wax feeble, their hearts wax faint, they grow churlish, and give cross answers, like *Naball*, they are sour, discontent, and nothing will please them. . . . Let there be no prodigal person to come forth and say, Give me the portion of lands and goods that appertaineth to me, and let me shift for myself; *Luke* 15. 12. It is yet too soon to put men to their shifts; *Israel* was seven years in *Canaan*, before the land was divided into tribes,

At length, after much debate of things, the Gov[erno]r (with the advise of the cheefest amongest them) gave way that they should set corne every man for his owne perticuler, and in that regard trust to them selves; in all other things to goe on in the generall way as before.[1] And so assigned to every family a parcell of land, according to the proportion of their number for that end, only for present use (but made no devission for inheritance),[2] and ranged all boys and youth under some familie. This had very good success; for it made all hands very industrious, so as much more corne was planted then other waise would have bene by any means the Gov[erno]r or any other could use, and saved him a great deall of trouble, and gave farr better contente.[3] The women now wente willingly

much longer before it was divided unto families; and why wouldst thou have thy particular portion, but because thou thinkest to live better than thy neighbor, and scornest to live so meanly as he? but who, I pray thee, brought this particularizing first into the world? Did not Satan, who was not content to keep that equal state with his fellows, but would set his throne above the stars?"

[1] The determination to alter the manner of using the land was taken in the month of April, at the time of corn planting. The settlers had little but the corn required for seed, and considered "that self-love wherewith every man, in a measure more or less, loveth and preferreth his own good before his neighbour's, and also the base disposition of some drones, that, as at other times, so now especially would be most burdenous to the rest; it was therefore thought best that every man should use the best diligence he could for his own preservation." Winslow, *Good Newes*, *48. Some of the passengers who had come in the *Fortune* may also have been an important influence in leading to the change. They were not bound by the "compact," nor in religious or other sympathy with the original settlers. The division was by lot, for obvious reasons, connected with the quality of the soil, etc. For further modifications of the system of land holding, see p. 372, *infra*.

[2] In the second division, that of 1627, it was agreed "That the first division of the acres should stand and continue f[irme according] to the former division made unto the possessors thereof and to their heires forever." *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, XI. 4. In 1636 it was "enacted by the Court and the Authoritie thereof That Inheritances shall decend according to the comendable Custom tenure and hold of east greenwich." *Ib.* 187. This was the form in the first charter of Virginia, "as of our Manor of East-Greenwich, in the County of Kent, in free and common Soccage only, and not in Capite."

[3] The success was not reflected in the yield of the crops. Planting began in April

into the feild, and tooke their litle-ones with them to set corne, which before would aledg weaknes, and inabilitie; whom to have compelled would have bene thought great tiranie and oppression.[1]

The experience that was had in this commone course and condition, tried sundrie years, and that amongst godly and sober men, may well evince they [the] vanitie of that conceite of Platos and other ancients,[2] applauded by some of later times; that the taking

and the season continued fair till the latter end of May, when a severe drought set in. For six weeks they were almost without rain, "so that the stalk of [corn] that was first set began to send forth the ear, before it came to half growth, and that which was later, not like to yield any at all, both blade and stalk hanging the head, and changing the color in such manner, as we judged it utterly dead. Our beans also ran up according to their wonted manner, but stood at a stay, many being parched away, as though they had been scorched before the fire." Winslow, *Good Newes*, *49.

[1] The Virginian experiment in common developed one danger that threatened its continuance: "When our people were fed out of the common store, and labored jointly together, glad was he who could slip from his labor or slumber over his task he cared not how, nay, the most honest among them would hardly take so much pains in a week, as now they themselves will do in a day: neither cared they for the increase, presuming that howsoever the harvest prospered, the general store must maintain them." Ralph Hamor, in Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, IV. 1766. About 1614 the advisability of allotting to each man a "private garden" was considered, but the plan did not meet with acceptance, and a number of allotments of three acres each were made to leasing farmers, who should pay an annual rent of two and one-half barrels of corn into the common store for each male worker. These farmers gave only one month's labor a year for the community, and that labor was not to be given in seed-time or in harvest.

Smith may have had this experiment in a common stock in mind when he advised the new plantations not to stand "too much upon the letting, setting, or selling those wild Countries, nor impose too much upon the commonalty either by your maggazines, which commonly eat out all poore mens labours, nor any other too hard imposition for present gaine; but let every man so it bee by order allotted him, plant freely without limitation so much as hee can, be it by the halfes or otherwayes: And at the end of five or six yeares, or when you make a division, for every acre he hath planted, let him have twenty, thirty, forty, or an hundred; or as you finde hee hath extraordinarily deserved, by it selfe to him and his heires for ever; all his charges being defrayed to his lord or master, and publike good." *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters*, *23.

[2] "The communism upon which Plato has based his ideal polity seems to have

away of propertie, and bringing in communitie into a comone wealth, would make them happy and florishing; as if they were wiser then God. For this comunitie (so farr as it was) was found to breed much confusion and discontent, and retard much imployment that would have been to their benefite and comforte. For the yong-men that were most able and fitte for labour and service did repine that they should spend their time and streingth to worke for other mens wives and children, with out any recompence. The strong, or man of parts, had no more in devission of victails and cloaths, then he that was weake and not able to doe a quarter the other could; this was thought injuestice. The aged and graver men to be ranked and [97] equalised in labours, and victails, cloaths, etc., with the meaner and yonger sorte, thought it some indignite and disrespect unto them. And for mens wives to be commanded to doe servise for other men, as dresing their meate, washing their cloaths, etc., they deemd it a kind of slaverie, neither could many husbands well brooke it. Upon the poynte all being to have alike, and all to doe alike, they thought them selves in the like condition, and one as good as another; and so, if it did not cut of those relations that God hath set amongest men, yet it did at least much diminish and take

been suggested by his desire for the unity of the state. If those two small pestilent words 'meum' and 'tuum,' which have engendered so much strife among men and created so much mischief in the world, could be banished from the lips and thoughts of mankind, the dream of the philosopher would soon be realized. The citizens would have parents, wives, children, and property in common; they would rejoice in each other's prosperity and sorrow at each other's misfortune; they would call their rulers, not 'lords' and 'masters,' but 'friends' and 'saviours.' Plato was aware that such a conception could hardly be carried out in this world; and he evades or adjourns rather than solves the difficulty by the assertion of the famous 'paradox' that only when the philosopher rules in the city will the ills of human life find an end. In the Critias, where the ideal state, as Plato himself intimates to us, is to some extent reproduced in an imaginary description of ancient Attica, property is common, but there is no mention of a community of wives and children. Finally in the Laws Plato, while still maintaining the blessings of communism, recognizes the impossibility of its realization, and sets about the construction of a 'second-best state' in which the rights of property are conceded." Jowett, *Dialogues of Plato*, v. 390.

of the mutuall respects that should be preserved amongst them. And would have bene worse if they had been men of another condition. Let none objecte this is men's corruption, and nothing to the course it selfe. I answer, seeing all men have this corruption in them, God in his wisdome saw another course fiter for them.

But to returne. After this course setled, and by that their corne was planted, all ther victails were spente, and they were only to rest on Gods providence; at night not many times knowing wher to have a bitt of any thing the next day. And so, as one well observed, had need to pray that God would give them their dayly brade, above all people in the world. Yet they bore these wants with great patience and allacritie of spirite, and that for so long a time as for the most parte of ·2· years; which makes me remember what Peter Martire writes, (in magnifying the Spaniards) in his ·5·Decade,[1] pag. 208. "*They* (saith he) *led a miserable life for ·5· days togeather, with the parched graine of maize only, and that not to saturitie;* and then concludes, *that shuch pains, shuch labours, and shuch hunger, he thought none living which is not a Spaniard could have endured.*" But alass! these, when they had maize (that is, Indean corne) they thought it as good as a feast, and wanted not only for ·5· days togeather, but some time ·2· or ·3· months togeather, and neither had bread nor any kind of corne. Indeed, in an other place, in his ·2· Decade, page 94, he mentions how others of them were worse put to it, wher they were faine to eate doggs, toads, and dead men, and so dyed almost all. From these extremities they

[1] The full title of this work is: "De Nouo Orbe, or The Historie of the West Indies Contayning the actes and aduentures of the Spanyards, which haue conquered and peopled those countries, inriched with a varietie of pleasant relation of the Manners, Ceremonies, Lawes, Gouernments, and Warres of the Indians. Comprised in eight Decades. Written by Peter Martyr a Millanoise of Angleria, Chiefe Secretary to the Emperour Charles the fift, and of his Priuie Councell. Whereof three, haue beene formerly translated into English, by R. Eden, whereunto the other fiue, are newly added by the Industrie and painefull Trauaile of M. Lok, Gent. London, Printed for Thomas Adams. 1612." A sketch of Michael Lok's career is in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[the] Lord in his goodnes kept these his people, and in their great wants preserved both their lives and healthes; let his name have the praise. Yet let me hear make use of his conclusion, which in some sorte may be applied to this people: "*That with their miseries they oppened a way to these new-lands; and after these stormes, with what ease other men came to inhabite in them, in respecte of the calamities these men suffered; so as they seeme to goe to a bride feaste wher all things are provided for them.*"

They haveing but one boat left and she not over well fitted, they were devided into severall companies, ·6· or ·7· to a gangg or company, and so wente out with a nett they had bought, to take bass and shuch like fish, by course, every company knowing their turne.[1] No sooner was the boate dis[98]charged of what she brought, but the next company tooke her and wente out with her. Neither did they returne till they had cauight something, though it were · 5 · or ·6· days before, for they knew ther was nothing at home, and to goe home emptie would be a great discouragemente to the rest. Yea, they strive who would doe best. If she stayed longe or got litle, then all wente to seeking of shelfish, which at low-water they digged out of the sands.[2] And this was their living in the sommer time, till

[1] Hubbard states of this single boat: "for that year [1623] it helped them for to improve a net where with they took a multitude of bass, which was their livelihood all that summer. It is a fish not much inferior to a salmon, that comes upon the coast every summer, pressing into most of the great creeks every tide. Few countries have such an advantage. Sometimes fifteen hundred of them have been stopped in a creek, and taken in one tide." *History*, 80. Yet the bass fisheries never offered a profitable venture for the European markets.

Smith writes of this year, "it is true, at first there hath beene taken a thousand Bayses at a draught, and more than twelve hogsheads of Herrings in a night, of other fish when and what they would, when they had meanes; but wanting most necessaries for fishing and fowling, it is a wonder how they could subsist, fortifie themselves, resist their enemies, and plant their plants." *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters*, *17.

[2] Four years later De Rasiere relates that Plymouth Bay "is very full of fish [chiefly] of cod, so that the Governor before named [Bradford?] has told me that when the people have a desire for fish, they send out two or three persons in a sloop, whom

God sente them beter; and in winter they were helped with groundnuts and foule. Also in the sommer they gott now and then a dear; for one or ·2· of the fitest was apoynted to range the woods for that end, and what was gott that way was devided amongst them.

At length they received some leters from the adventure[r]s, too long and tedious hear to record, by which they heard of their further crosses and frustrations; begining in this maner.

LOVING FREINDS, As your sorrows and afflictions have bin great, so our croses and interceptions in our proceedings hear, have not been small. For after we had with much trouble and charge sente the *Parragon* away to sea, and thought all the paine past, within ·14· days after she came againe hither, being dangerously leaked, and brused with tempestious stormes, so as shee was faine to be had into the docke, and an 100 *li.* bestowed upon her.[1] All the passengers lying upon our charg or ·6· or ·7· weeks, and much discontent and distemper was occasioned hereby, so as some dangerous evente had like to insewed. But we trust all shall be well and worke for the best and your benefite, if yet with patience you can waite, and but have strength to hold in life. Whilst these things were doing, Mr. Westons ship[2] came and brought diverce

they remunerate for their trouble, and who bring them in three or four hours time as much fish as the whole community require for a whole day — and they muster about fifty families." *New York Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 2 Ser., II. 351.

[1] Smith notes that "this 16th of October [1622] is going the *Paragon* with 67 persons and all this is done by priuat mens purses." *New Englands Trials*, C. 4. In his *Generall Historie*, *236, he says, "The Paragon with thirty seven men, sent to releeve them, miscarried twice." The sum of the two figures will approach that given in the text. Winslow intimates that the *Paragon* started a third time, and was wrecked; but he evidently wrote on a rumor, for he later expressly speaks of the safe, though dangerous, return into England of this third venture. *Good Newes*, *49, 50. Bradford (p. 312, *infra*) also speaks of a ship of which he fears the loss, but gives no name. It must have been in one of those false starts of the *Paragon* that John Peirce took passage for New England (p. 308, *infra*), an experience he did not repeat. Smith makes the "seven and thirty passengers miscarrying twice upon the coast of England," land in New England — clearly a reference to the *Anne* and *Little James*. *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters*, *17.

[2] The *Charity*, which, according to Winslow, had left the plantation "in the end of September or the beginning of October," 1622.

leters from you, etc. It rejoyseth us much to hear of those good reports that diverce have brought home from you, etc.

These letters were dated Des. 21: 1622.[1]

So farr of this leter.

This ship was bought by Mr. John Peirce, and set out at his owne charge, upon hope of great maters. These passengers, and the goods the company sent in her, he tooke in for fraught, for which they agreed with him to be delivered hear. This was he in whose name their *first patente* was taken, by reason of aquaintance and some aliance that some of their freinds had with him. But his name was only used in trust. But when he saw they were hear hopfully thus seated, and by the success God gave them had obtained the favour of the Counsell of New-England, he goes and sues to them for *another patent* of much larger extente (in their names), which was easily obtained. But he mente to keep it to him selfe and alow them what he pleased, to hold of him as tenants, and sue to his courts as cheefe Lord, as will appear by that which follows.[2] But the Lord marvelously crost him; for after this first re-

[1] This is written in the margin.

[2] On June 1, 1621, the council for New England granted a charter to John Peirce and his associates, the associates being the Pilgrims then at New Plymouth. Peirce, "whose name we onely made use of and whose Associates we were" (*Plymouth Col. Rec.*, XI. 21), without the knowledge or consent of his Associates, obtained April 20, 1622, and apparently for his own benefit, a new grant, superceding that of 1621. "It further appeared that that upon the xxth day of Aprill, 1622, Mr. Jo: Peirce granted Letters of Associacon unto the said Adventurers, whereby hee made them jointly interrested with him in the Lands granted by the abovesaid Indentures. Moreover it appeared that upon the said xxth day of April, 1622, after the said Mr. Peirce had interrested the said Adventurers in the Lands past unto him by the said Indenture, that hee yieldd and surrendred upp the said Indenture and Received upp the Counterpart thereof, And tooke a pattent or Deed pole [a deed made and executed by one party only] of the said Lands to himselfe, his Heires, Associates, and Assignes for ever, bearing date the xxth of Aprill, 1622, with which Surrender and new Grant the Adventurers affirmed that they were not privy unto, And therefore conceived themselves deceaved by Mr. Peirce, which was the cause of their Complaint." The Council ordered that the Associates "are left free to hold the privi-

turne, and the charge above mentioned, when shee was againe fitted he pesters him selfe and takes in more passengers, and those not very good to help to bear his losses, and sets out the ·2· time. But [99]

ledges by the said former grant of the first of June [1621], as if the later had never bin, And they the said Associates to receive and enjoy all that they doe or may possesse by vertue thereof. And the Surplus that is to remaine over and above, by reason of the later grant, the said Peirce to enjoy, and to make his best benefitt of, as to him shall seeme good." Thereupon James Sherley, as treasurer to the said Adventurers of New Plymouth, asked that a new patent should be issued, covering as much as had been granted to Peirce by that of June 1, 1621. *Records of the Council for New England*, 91.

Of John Peirce little is known, beyond the fact that his being "citizen and clothworker of London." He intended to make the voyage to New England, but it is quite certain he never came over. He had a connection with Weston, either at this time or later, and that would not make him very friendly to the Plantation when troubles came upon him. "Mr. John Pearce wrote he would make a parliamentary matter about our grand patent. I pray you wish our friends to look to it, for I mistrust him. I perceive there passeth intelligence between Mr. Weston and him, by means of Mr. Hix." *Bradford to Cushman*, June 9, 1625. *Bradford Letter Book*, 37. The first letter in Mourt signed "R. G." was written to Peirce. Hix may be Robert Hicks, mentioned on p. 316, *infra*.

This is undoubtedly the John Peirce who became interested in the Virginia Company, and in February, 1619–20, received a grant of land in Virginia, for himself and his associates. It was proposed to entrust to this party some of the children supplied by the city of London for transportation to America, but the proposition failed, "first because they [Peirce and Associates] intend not to goe this two or three moneths and then after there arryvall wil be long in settlinge themselves, as allso that the Indians are not acquainted with them, and so they may stay four or five years before they have account that any good is donne." The later application by Peirce to Gorges led to a withdrawal of the patent obtained from the Virginia Company. *Records of the Virginia Company*, 1. 299, 303, 311, 515. His brother, Abraham Peirce, was Cape Merchant in Virginia, and conducted his business in such a way as to give the company much trouble, and involve an interference by the Privy Council. John claimed to have been drawn into the Virginia venture by his brother. *Acts of the Privy Council*, Colonial, 1. 132, 189; *Records of the Virginia Company*, index.

"And of deeds there be two sorts, deeds indented and deeds pool. Which diuision, as *M. West.* saith, *parte* i, *Simbol*[*eography*], *lib.* 1. *sect.* 46. groweth from the forme or fashion of them; the one being cut to the fashion of teeth in the toppe or side, the other being plaine. . . . A polled deede, is a deede testefying, that onely the one of the parties to the bargaine hath put his seale, thereunto, after the maner there by him described." Cowell, *The Interpreter* (1607), *Deedes*.

what the event was will appear from another leter from one of the cheefe of the company, dated the ·9· of Aprill, 1623. writ to the Gov[erno]r hear, as followeth.

LOVING FREIND, When I write my last leter, I hoped to have received one from you well-nigh by this time. But when I write in Des[cember] I litle thought to have seen Mr. John Peirce till he had brought some good tidings from you. But it pleased God, he brought us the wofull tidings of his returne when he was half way over, by extraime tempest, werin the goodnes and mercie of God appeared in sparing their lives, being ·109· souls. The loss is so great to Mr. Peirce, etc., and the companie put upon so great charge, as veryly, etc.

Now with great trouble and loss, we have got Mr. John Peirce to assigne over the grand patente to the companie,[1] which he had taken in his owne name, and made quite voyd our former grante.[2] I am sorie to writ how many hear thinke that the hand of God was justly against him, both the first and ·2· time of his returne; in regard he, whom you and we so confidently trusted, but only to use his name for the company, should aspire to be lord over us all, and so make you and us tenants at his will and pleasure, our assurance or patente being quite voyd and disanuled by his means. I desire to judg charitably of him. But his unwillingnes to part with his royall Lordship, and the high-rate he set it at, which was 500*li.* which cost him but 50*li.*, makes many speake and judg hardly of him. The company are out for goods in his ship, with charge aboute the passengers, 640*li.*, etc.

[1] "By this Company seems to be meant the Adventurers to Plymouth Colony." Prince, I. 136.

[2] Bradford appears to have first learned of the terms of this patent of Peirce through David Thomson. "About that grand patent which we understand you have gott from Mr. Peirce, which if it be as we have it is by Mr. Thomsons relation, but to goe by a right line from the Gurnatsnose due west into the land a certain way, and no furder north-ward, it will stripe us of the best part of the bay, which will be most commodious for us, and better than all the rest; therefore seeing now is the time to helpe these things we thought it were then necessarie to send aboute the former patente for Cape Anne; we desire it may be procured with as ample privileges as it may, and not to be simplie confined to that place, but in our liberty to take any other, if we like it better." *Bradford's letter of September* 8, 1623. See p. 358, *infra.*

We have agreed with ·2· marchants for a ship of ·140· tunes, caled the *Anne*, which is to be ready the last of this month, to bring ·60· passengers and ·60· tune of goods, etc.

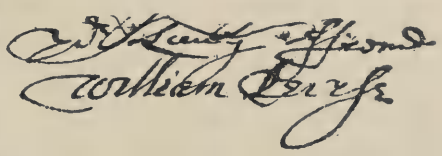
This was dated Aprill ·9· 1623.

These were ther owne words and judgmente of this mans dealing and proceedings; for I thought it more meete to render them in theirs then my owne words. And yet though ther was never got other recompence then the resignation of this patente, and the shares he had in adventure, for all the former great sumes, he was never quiet, but sued them in most of the cheefe courts in England, and when he was still cast, brought it to the Parlemente.[1] But he is now dead, and I will leave him to the Lord.

This ship suffered the greatest extreemitie at sea at her ·2· returne, that one shall lightly hear of, to be saved; as I have been informed by Mr. William Peirce[2] who was then m[aste]r of her, and many others that were passengers in her.[3] It was aboute the *midle*

[1] Fletcher speaks of the "feigned and perfidious dealings of Mr. John Peirce towards me, and others, who now hath manifest himself, at least to some, not to mind that good for you, or us, as was fit, and oft pretended." *To Bradford and others*, November 25, 1625. *Bradford Letter Book*, 39.

[2] The name of no sea-captain occurs so frequently in the earliest years of New England history as that of William Peirce, and always with good report. Bradford, after first meeting him in the summer of 1623, said he "hath used our passengers well, and dealt very honestly with us," and again, as a man "as we perceive very skillful and diligent in his bussines, and a very honest man, whose imployments may doe us much good; and if you resolve, as we ernisly desire you may, of any course aboute fishing we think he is as fite an Instrument as you can use." *Bradford's letter of September* 8, 1623.



[3] John Peirce had trouble with his passengers after his return over the cost of transportation. One Hopkins claimed that he had paid Peirce for the passage of himself and two persons more, with their goods. Peirce acknowledged this, "but allegeth that, by reason of his unfortunate return, the rest of the passengers that went upon the like conditions, had been contented to allow 40*s*. a person towards his loss; and there-

of Feb[*ruary*]. The storme was for the most parte of ·14· days, but for·2·or ·3·days and nights togeather in most violente extremitie. After they had cut downe their mast, the storme beat of their round house and all their uper works; ·3· men had worke enough at the helme, and he that cund[1] the ship before the sea, was faine[100] to be bound fast for washing away; the seas did so over-rake them, as many times those upon the decke knew not whether they were within bord or withoute; and once she was so foundered in the sea as they all thought she would never rise againe. But yet the Lord preserved them, and brought them at last safe to *Ports-mouth*, to the wonder of all men that saw in what a case she was in, and heard what they had endured.

About the later end of *June* came in a ship,[2] with Captaine

fore desireth that Master Hopkins may do the like. Which Master Hopkins, at length, agreed unto; so as Master Peirce and his Associates will accept £6, for three passengers, out of [the] £20 his Adventure which he hath in their Joint Stock. And therefore they both pray that the Council will be pleased to write to the Associates, to accept thereof. Which they were pleased to do." *Records of the Council for New England*, May 5/15, 1623. A sequel to this controversy is to be found in Bradford's letter of September 8, 1623: "About Hobkins and his men we are come to this isew. The men we retaine in the generall according to his resignation and equietie of the thinge. And about that recconinge of ·20· ode pounds, we have brought it to this pass, he to is have ·6li· payed by you ther, and the rest to be quite; it is for nails and shuch other things as we have had of his brother [Stephen] here for the companies use, and upon promise of paymente by us, we desire you will accordingly doe it."

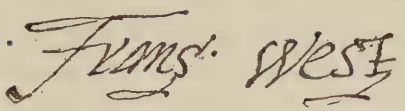
[1] Con means to direct the steering of a ship from some commanding position on shipboard. According to Captain John Smith (*Accidence*, 1), the "maister is to see to the cunning the Ship," but the under officers, like the quarter-master, also performed that duty. Phillips, *World of Words*, defines it, "to conduct or guide a ship in the right course, for he that conns stands aloft with a compass before him, and gives the word of direction to the man at the helm how to steer." Deane suggests that "he that cund" the *Paragon* was probably not "aloft."

[2] This ship, called the *Plantation*, was doubtless the new vessel under construction at Whitby in the county of York, in November, 1622, "for and to the use of the said Adventurers," viz. [Ludovick Stuart] Duke of Lenox, £160; [Thomas Howard] Earl of Arundell, £160; Lord [Edward] Gorges, £150; Sir Ferdinando Gorges, £160; Sir Samuel Argall, £180; Dr. Barnabas Goche, £150; Dr. Matthew Sutcliffe, £100; and Captain Robert Gorges, £160. These subscriptions, if they were paid, together with

Francis West, who had a comission to be admirall of New-England, to restraine interlopers, and shuch fishing ships as came to fish and trade without a licence from the Counsell of New-England, for which they should pay a round sume of money.[1] But he could

an additional contribution of £50, placed by Treasurer Gooche, made a total of £1270. Among the items noted were "Sayles, a single suite at 14*d.* per p[oun]d, will amount to £130; Cables and Rigging at £400; Anchors, at £110." *Records of the Council for New England*, 75, 76.

[1] Francis West, a brother of Lord Delaware, went to Virginia in 1608, and became a leading character in that colony. In 1617 he received a commission as master of ordnance during life, and on November 2, 1622, a commission to Captain Francis West was "ordered" to be engrossed, and afterwards sealed. Six days later it was agreed that there shall bee a Commission granted to Captain Francis West to go to New England, Captain of the ship called the *Plantation* and admiral for that coast "dureing this Voyage." Captain Thomas Squibb was at the same time named "to bee ayding and Assisting to the Admirall," but more specifically to "discover, survey," and take possession of Mount Mansell, in behalf of Sir Robert Mansell, who had paid for his share in the adventure by a note of hand. The commission was sealed November 30, and his instructions were prepared by Sir Ferdinando Gorges. *Records of the Council for New England*, 68, 69, 76. He went out to act under the Royal Proclamation of November 6, 1622, prohibiting interloping and disorderly Trading to New England in America. Hazard, I. 151. On January 15, 1622–23, it was proposed to elect Sir Samuel Argall "Admirall of New England," but no action is recorded.



At home the proclamation was sent out by the Council accompanied by a letter, prepared by Sir Ferdinando, stating "that it is not the Councells meaning to stay or hinder any from goeing to New England, in fishing voyages, soe as they will conforme themselves" to the orders of the council. These orders, adopted November 16, 1622, were: that a certain number of men, proportioned to the size of the ship, should be taken out and left in New England, victualled for two months, and equipped with sufficient provision of hooks, lines and leads; and that there should be no barter or trade with the natives, or supplying them with any victuals, or furniture of war. Smith broadly hints that the proclamation hindered the settlement of the coast of New England. "Thus whereas this Country, as the contrivers of those projects, should have planted it selfe of it selfe, especially all the chiefe parts along the coast the first yeare, as they have oft told me, and chiefly by the fishing ships and some small helpe of their owne, thinking men would be glad upon any termes to be admitted under their protections: but it proved so contrary, none would goe at all. So for feare to

doe no good of them, for they were to stronge for him, and he found the fisher men to be stuberne fellows. And their owners, upon complainte made to the Parlemente, procured an order that fishing should be free.[1] He tould the Gov[erno]r they spooke with a ship at sea, and were abord her, that was coming for this plantation, in which were sundrie passengers, and they marvelled she was not arrived, fearing some miscariage; for they lost her in a storme that fell shortly after they had been abord. Which relation filled them full of fear, yet mixed with hope. The m[aste]r of this ship had some ·2· ħħ of pease to sell, but seeing their wants, held them at 9*li.* sterling a hoggshead, and under 8*li.* he would not take, and yet would have beaver at an under rate. But they tould him they had

make a contempt against the Proclamation it hath ever since beene little frequented to any purpose, nor would they doe any thing but left it to it selfe." Thus it stood until the going of the Winthrop party. *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters*, *22. The plan of leaving a part of the fishing crew as settlers was the same as that of the Dorchester company. See p. 360.

[1] Having obtained its charter the company turned to raising money for its conduct, and by two methods. The first was by a voluntary contribution of £100 from each patentee; the other was by an easy ransoming or license for privileges to fish or to trade upon the coast. The purpose expressed was to introduce a regular proceeding or uniformity, under joint stock ventures, for that promiscuous and disjointed trading which had inflicted heavy losses upon all and threatened to keep the undertaking in a demoralized condition. The raising of the question of a patent in Parliament and the issue of letters by the Lords of Council giving notice of the grant and warning interlopers, excited the opposition of the western cities and towns. "The most factious of every place, presently combined themselves to follow the business in Parliament, where they presumed to prove the same to be a monopoly, and much tending to the prejudice of the common good. But that there should be a conformity in trade, or a course taken to prevent the evils that were likely to ensue, or to appropriate possessions, or lands, after a generous manner, in remote parts of the world, to certain publick persons, of the common wealth, for the taking care, and spending their time and means how to advance the enlargement of their country, the honour of their king, and glory of their God; these were thought crimes worthy the taking notice of, and the principal actors in this kind must be first traduced in private, then publickly called upon in Parliament, to answer such other scandals as could by malice be invented." The agitation was sufficient to hinder the Council for New England "from the hopes we had this yeare, to giue some life extraordinarily to those affaires."

By the King.

A Proclamation prohibiting interloping and disorderly trading to *New England* in *America*.

AS it hath euer beene held a principall Office of Christian Kings, to seeke by all pious meanes the aduancement of Christian Religion; so the consideration thereof, hath beene a speciall motiue vnto Vs, from time to time, as often as cause hath required, to further by Our Royall authority, the good disposition of any of Our well affected Subiects, that haue a will to attempt the discouering and planting in any parts of the World, as yet sauage and vnpossessed by the Subiects of any Christian Prince or State. And now for that, by Gods sacred fauour, there is likely to ensue great aduancement of his glory, Our Crown, and State, by reason of Our grant heeretofore made to the Counsell for the managing of the affaires of New England in America, being in breadth from forty degrees of Northerly latitude from the Equinoctiall line, to forty eight degrees of the sayd Northerly latitude, and in length by all the breadth aforesayd, throughout the maine land from Sea to Sea; We cannot but continue Our speciall respect and fauour vnto them in their endeuours, and exercise Our Royall authority against the hinderers thereof. Wherefore, hauing receiued certaine information of many and intolerable abuses offered by sundry interlopers, irregular and disobedient persons, that seeking principally their present and priuate profits, haue not only impeached some of the Planters there, of their lawfull possessions, but also taken from them their Timber without giuing any satisfaction, as in iustice they ought to haue done: and not therewith contented, haue rifled whole woods to the vtter ruine of the same for euer after; as also, by casting of their ballast in the harbors of some of their Plands, haue almost made them vnfrequentable: And yet not so contented, by their promiscuous trading, aswell Mariners as Masters with the Sauages, haue ouerthrowne the trade and commerce that before was had, to the great profit of the Planters, and which were indeed their principall hopes for the aduancement of that plantation, next vnto the commodities that coast affords of Fishing: Neither heerewith satisfied, but as if they resolued to omit nothing that might be impious and intolerable, they did not forbeare to barter away to the Sauages, Swords, Pikes, Muskets, Fowling peeces, Match, Powder, Shot, and other warlike weapons, and teach them the vse thereof, not only to their owne present punishment (diuers of them being shortly after slain by the same Sauages, whom they had so taught, and with the same weapons which they had furnished them withall) but also to the hazard of the liues of Our good subiects already planted there, and (almuch as in them lay) to the making of the whole attempt it selfe (how pious and hopefull soeuer) frustrate, or so much the more difficult. For reformation and preuention of these or the like euils heereafter, and for the more cleare declaration of Our Kingly resolution and iust intents, both to maintayne Our Royall grant already made, and to vphold and encourage by all wayes and meanes the worthy dispositions of the vndertakers of those designes, haue thought fit, and doe heerby straitly charge and command, That none of Our Subiects whatsoeuer, (not Aduenturers, Inhabitors or Planters in New England) presume from henceforth to frequent those Coasts, to trade or traffique with those people, or to intermeddle in the woodes or freehold of any the Planters or Inhabitants (otherwise then by the licence of the sayd Counsell, or according to the orders established by Our Priuy Counsell for the releefe or ease of the transportation of the Colony in Virginia) vpon paine of Our high indignation, and the confiscation, penalties and forfeitures in Our sayd Royall grant expressed: Leauing it neuertheleese, in the meane time, to the discretion of the sayd Counsel for New England, to proceed against the foresayd offenders according to the same, especially, seeing we finde the armes of the sayd Counsell to bee open to receiue into that plantation any of Our louing Subiects, who are willing to ioyne with them in the charge, and participate in the profits thereof.

Giuen at Our Court at Theobalds, the sixt day of Nouember, in the yeere of Our Reigne of England, France, and Ireland, the twentieth, and of Scotland the fiue and fiftieth.

God saue the King.

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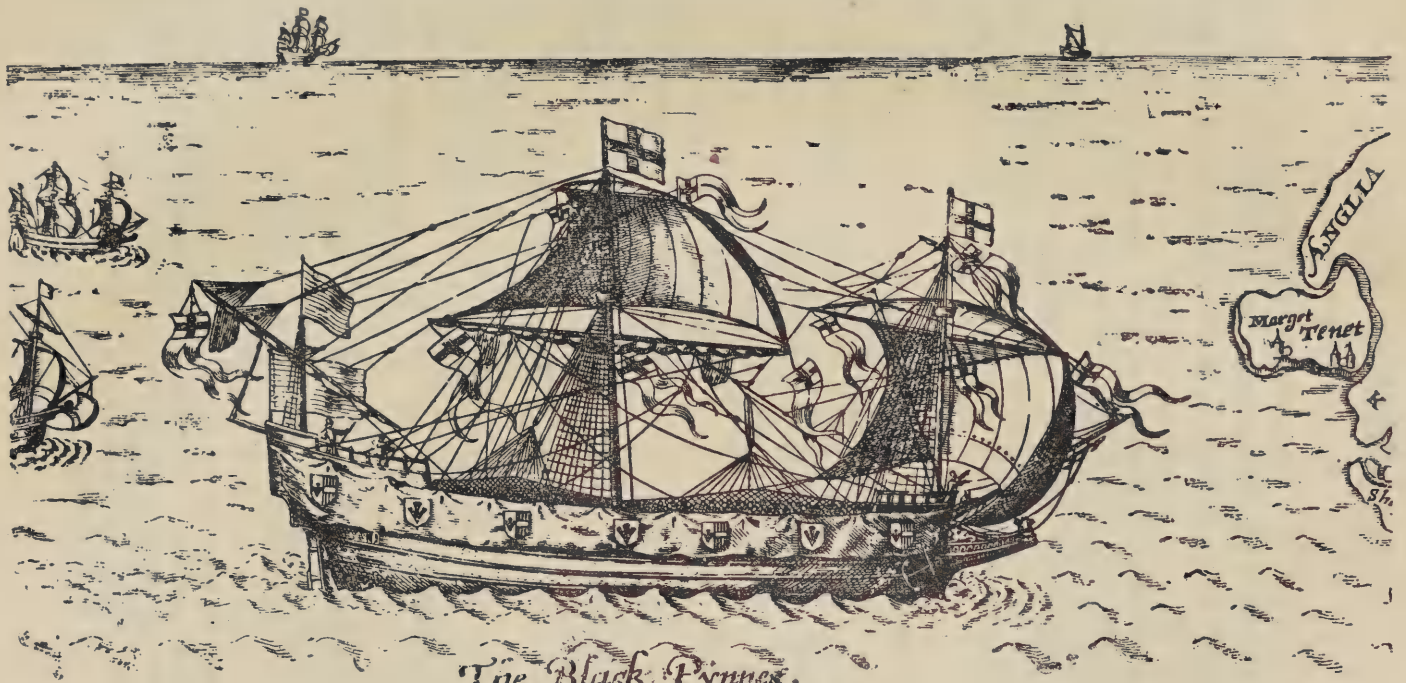
lived so long with out, and would doe still, rather then give so unreasonably. So they went from hence to Virginia.

About ·14· days after came in this ship, caled the *Anne*, wherof Mr. William Peirce was m[aste]r, and aboute a weeke or ·10· days after came in the pinass which in foule weather they lost at sea, a fine new vessell of about ·44· tune, which the company had builte to stay in the cuntrie.[1] They brought about ·60· persons for the

[1] The *Little James*, John Bridge, master. The Council for New England, January 21, 1622–23, appointed Emanuel Altham to be "captain in the new pinnace built for Mr. Peirces plantation." One Samuel Althem, captain of the *Little James*, also under the "adventurers for Mr. Peirce's plantation," is mentioned in the Records for February 25, 1622–23, and is the same person. Captain John Smith, in his *Generall Historie*, 239, gives the name Altom. This pinnace may have been the first of the vessels "of good burden and extraordinary Mould," designed to be built by the Council for New England, to lie upon the coast for the defense of merchants and fishermen employed there, and "also to waft the fleets as they go to and from their markets." Yet in the *Briefe Relation*, *28, the announcement was made that "we purpose from henceforth to build our shipping there [New England], where wee find all commodities fit for that seruice, together with the most opportune places that can bee desired." The Popham colonists had, in 1607, built a pinnace, the *Virginia*, which brought some of them back to England.

Before sailing, the adventurers for Peirce's plantation petitioned the Council that "in consideracon of many crosses and Losses [Bradford uses the same words in his letter of September 8, 1623, *infra*] by them lately sustayned they might have to themselves the Moyety (formerly reserved unto the Councell) all such prizes as they should seize and Lawfully take upon the Coasts of New England, as by the position and Lycence appeareth." This power, easily capable of abuse, was granted and proved a source of much trouble, as will appear. A like power was given on the same day to the ship *Catharine*, of 180 tons, belonging to Edward Lord Gorges, and having Thomas Squib, as captain, and Joseph Stratton, as Master. *Council for New England*, 79, 88.

These "crosses and Losses" were in part the reported staying at Norwich, by the Mayor and his officers, of certain barrels of meal intended for the relief of the Planters in New England, and the impressing for his Majesty's service of some of the persons going in the *Little James*, by the Marshal of the Admiralty. "The Marshall Answered that hee sent not aboard to press any, but if any were prest it was their owne fault to bee abroad, And that such as were press'd their names were returned to Chatham where the Kings Shipps lay, soe that he could not discharge them. But he would henceforth forbeare to press any off such Shipps Company as should be bound for New England." *Ib.* 89.



The Black Pynnes.

generall, some of them being very usefull persons, and became good members to the body, and some were the wives and children of shuch as were hear allready. And some were so bad, as they were

On the *Little James* was John Jenny, "a leading man, and of a public spirit, that improved the interest both of his person and estate, to promote the concernments of the Colony; in which service he continued faithful unto the day of his death, which happened in the year 1644, leaving this testimony behind, that he walked with God, and served his generation." *Hubbard*, 83. On this voyage of the *Little James* "Goodey Jenenges was delevered of a Child in the Shep a month before we cam a shore and are both well yet god be praised." Other passengers were Edward Burcher or Burchard and his wife.

See note on the *Paragon*, p. 305, *supra*.

The passengers by the *Anne* and *Little James* receiving land in the division of 1623 were:

Anthony Anable	4 acres	Manasseh Fance [Kempton]	1 acre
[Edward] Bangs	4	Goodwife Flavell	1
Robert Bartlett	1	Edmond Flood	1
Fear Brewster	1	Brigett Fuller	1
Pacience Brewster	1	Timothy Hatherly [1]	
Marie Bucket	1	William Heard	1
Edward Burcher [Burchard]	2	Margaret Hickes and children [2]	4
Thomas Clarke	1	William Hilton's wife and 2 children [3]	3
Christopher Connant	1	Edward Holman	1
Cuthbart Cuthbartson	6	John Jenings [Jenny]	5
Anthony Dixe	2	Robert Long	1
John Fance	1	James Rande	1
Experience Mitchell	4	Robert Rattliffe [Ratcliffe]	4
George Moreton	4	Nicholas Snow	1
Thomas Morton, junior	1	Alice Southworth [Bradford]	1
Ellen Newton	1	Francis Spragge	3
John Ouldham [and others]	10	[Barbara] Standish	1
Frances (wife of William) Palmer	1	Thomas Tilden	3
Christian Penn	1	Stephen Tracy	3
[William] Peirce's two servants	0	Ralfe Walen	0
Joshua Pratt	1		

The following names were also in the list, probably because of newly arrived members of the family entitling them to land. Francis Cooke (a Mayflower passenger)

[1] Not in the Hazard list.

[2] Hazard says "Robert Hickes, his Wife and Children."

[3] Hazard has Eilton.

faine to be at charge to send them home againe the next year. Also, besides these ther came a company, that did not belong to the generall body, but came one [on] their perticuler, and were to have lands assigned them, and be for them selves, yet to be subjecte to the generall Goverment; which caused some diferance and disturbance a[101]mongst them, as will after apeare.[1] I shall hear againe take libertie to inserte a few things out of shuch leters as came in this shipe, desiring rather to manefest things in ther words and apprehentions, then in my owne, as much as may be, without tediousness.[2]

BELOVED FREINDS, I kindly salute you all, with trust of your healths and wellfare, being right sorie that no supplie hath been made to you

who receives four acres; Richard Warren, also a Mayflower passenger, six acres; and Phinehas Pratt, a relic of the Weston adventure at Wessagusset. The location of lands is given in *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, XII. 5, and on p. 347, *infra*.

[1] This troublous company was probably Oldham and his associates, ten in number.

[2] In his letter of September 8, 1623, Bradford returns hearty thanks for "a large and liberall suply" received by these vessels. "If God had seen it good we should have been right glad it had come sooner, both for our good and your profite; for we have both been in a langwishing state; and also faine to put away our furrs at a small vallew to help us to sume necessaries, without which notwithstanding we should have done full ill, yea indeed could not have subsisted; so as we have little or nothing to send you, for which we are not a litle sorie; but if you knew how necessarily we were constrained too it, and how unwillingly we did it, we suppose you cannot at all blame us for it; we put away as much at one time and other of bevar as, if they had been savid togeather and sould at the best hand, would have yeelded ·3· or ·4·100 pounds." But the absence of method was found in the shipments from England by the *Anne*. "We wanted a perfect bill of lading, to call for ech parcell of our goods, which as you have occation we pray you see toe hereafter, for it is very requisite though you have to deale with honest men." From Peirce some necessaries were purchased, "the cheefe whereof is bread, and course cloth, and some other needfull things withall; and with them he hath put upon us some other things less necessarie, as beefe, etc. which we would not have had if we could have had the other without them; fear of want againe before suply come to us, as also a litle to encourag our people after ther great dishartening hath made us pressume to charg you herewith; a bill of perticulars we have here sent you; we hope the furres will defray it." *Bradford's letter of September* 8, 1623.

all this while; for defence wher of, I must referr you to our generall leters. Naither indeed have we now sent you many things, which we should and would, for want of money. But persons, more then inough, (though not all we should,) for people come flying in upon us, but monys come creeping in to us. Some few of your old freinds are come, as, etc. So they come droping to you, and by degrees, I hope ere long you shall enjoye them all. And because people press so hard upon us to goe, and often shuch as are none of the fitest, I pray you write ernestly to the Treasurer[1] and directe what persons should be sente. It greeveth me to see so weake a company sent you, and yet had I not been hear they had been weaker. You must still call upon the company hear to see that honest men be sente you, and threaten to send them back if any other come, etc.[2] We are not any way so much in danger, as by corrupte an[d] noughty persons. Shuch, and shuch, came without my consente; but the importunite of their freinds got promise of our Treasurer in my absence. Neither is ther need we should take any lewd men, for we may have honest men enew, etc.

Your assured freind,

R[OBART] [CUSHMAN.]

[1] James Sherley.

[2] Winslow seems to conform to this suggestion by the last paragraphs of his *Good Newes*, *65, 66, where he warns the intending settler that the plenty is not to be had without means and proper instruments. "I write not these things to dissuade any that shall seriously, upon due examination, set themselves to further the glory of God, and the honor of our country, in so worthy an enterprise, but rather to discourage such as with too great lightness undertake such courses; who peradventure strain themselves and their friends for their passage thither, and are no sooner there, than seeing their foolish imagination made void, are at their wits' end, and would give ten times so much for their return, if they could procure it; and out of such discontented passions and humors, spare not to lay that imputation upon the country, and others, which themselves deserve. As, for example, I have heard some complain of others for their large reports of New England, and yet because they must drink water and want many delicates they have here enjoyed, could presently return with their mouths full of clamor. And can any be so simple as to conceive that the fountains should stream forth wine or beer, or the woods and rivers be like butchers' shops or fishmongers' stalls, where they might have things taken to their hands? If thou canst not live without such things, and hast no means to procure the one, and wilt not take pains for the other, nor hast ability to employ others for thee, rest where thou art;

The following was from the genrall.

LOVING FREINDS, we most hartily salute you in all love and harty affection; being yet in hope that the same God which hath hithertoo preserved you in a marvelous maner, doth yet continue your lives and health, to his owne praise and all our comforts. Being right sory that you have not been sent unto all this time, etc. We have in this ship sent shuch women, as were willing and ready to goe to their husbands and freinds, with their children, etc. We would not have you discontente, because we have not sent you more of your old freinds, and in spetiall, him[1] on whom you most depend. Farr be it from us to neclecte you, or contemne him. But as the intente was at first, so the evente at last shall shew it, that we will deal fairly, and squarly[2] answer your expectations to the full.[3] Ther are also come unto you, some honest men to plant upon their perticulers besides you. A thing which if we should not give way unto, we should wrong both them and you. Them,

for as a proud heart, a dainty tooth, a beggar's purse, and an idle hand, be here intolerable, so that person that hath these qualities there, is much more abominable."

[1] I[ohn] R[obinson]. — BRADFORD, in the margin.

[2] "Indeed freinds it doth us [muc]h good to read your honest letters. We perceive your honest minds, and how squarly you deal in all things, which giveth us much comforte, and howsoever things have been for time past, we doubt not for time to come but ther shall be that good coraspondance which is meete. And we shall labore what we can to be answarable to your kindnes and cost." *Bradford's letter of September* 8, 1623.

[3] "For our freinds in Holand we much desired their companie, and have long expected the same; if we had had them in the stead of some others we are perswaded things would have been better then they are with us, for honest men will ever doe their best endeavoure, whilst others (though they be more able of body) will scarce by any means be brought too; but we know many of them to be better able, either for laboure or counsell then our selves; And indeed if they should not come to us, we would not stay [her]e, if we might gaine never so much wellth, but we are glad to take knowledge of what you would write touch[ing] them, and like well of your purpose not to make the generall body biggere, save only to furnish them with usefull members, for spetiall faculties." As to any further bond or covenant to be made with the company, Bradford continued, "we take our freinds at Leyden to be comprehended in the same, and as much interese[d] as our selves; and their conssents to be accordingly had; for though we be come first to this place, yet they are as principalle in the acction and they and we to be considred as one body." *Bradford's letter of September* 8, 1623.

by puting them on things more inconveniente, and you, for that being honest men, they will be a strengthening to the place, and good neighbours [102] unto you. Tow things we would advise you of, which we have likwise signified them hear. First, the trade for skins to be retained for the generall till the devidente; 2ly. that their setling by you, be with shuch distance of place as is neither inconvenient for the lying of your lands, nor hurtfull to your speedy and easie assembling togeather.[1]

We have sente you diverse fisher men, with salte, etc. Diverse other provissions we have sente you, as will appear in your bill of lading, and though we have not sent all we would (because our cash is small), yet it is that we could, etc.

And allthough it seemeth you have discovered many more rivers and fertill grounds then that wher you are, yet seeing by Gods providence that place fell to your lote, let it be accounted as your portion; and rather fixe your eyes upon that which may be done ther, then languish in hopes after things els-wher. If your place be not the best, it is better, you shall be the less envied and encroached upon; and shuch as are earthly minded, will not setle too near your border.[2] If the land afford you bread, and the sea yeeld you fish, rest you a while contented, God will one day afford you better fare. And all men shall know you are neither fugetives nor discontents. But can, if God so order it, take the worst to your selves, with contend [content], and leave the best to your neighbours, with cherfullnes.

[1] Smith urged the adventurers to make their plantations "so neere and great as you can; for many hands make light worke, whereas yet your small parties can doe nothing availeable." *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters*, *23. Morton, though perverse in his attitude towards New Plymouth, probably gave a glimpse of the truth when he wrote that, "this, as an article of the new creede of Canaan, would they have received of every new commer there to inhabit, that the Salvages are a dangerous people, subtill, secreat and mischeivous; and that it is dangerous to live seperated, but rather together: and so be under their Lee, that none might trade for Beaver, but at their pleasure, as none doe or shall doe there: nay they will not be reduced to any other song yet of the Salvages to the southward of Plimmouth, because they would have none come there, sayinge that hee that will sit downe there must come stronge." *New English Canaan* (Prince Society), 256.

[2] This proved rather, a propheti, then advice. — Bradford.

Let it not be greeveous unto you that you have been instruments to breake the ise for others who come after with less dificulty; the honour shall be yours to the worlds end, etc.[1]

We bear you always in our brests, and our harty affection is towards you all, as are the harts of hundreds more which never saw your faces, who doubtles pray for your saftie as their owne, as we our selves both doe and ever shall, that the same God which hath so marvelously preserved you from seas, foes, and famine, will still preserve you from all future dangers, and make you honourable amongst men, and glorious in blise at the last day. And so the Lord be with you all and send us joyfull news from you, and inable us with one shoulder so to accomplish and perfecte this worke, as much glorie may come to Him that confoundeth the mighty by the weak, and maketh small thinges great. To whose greatnes, be all glorie for ever and ever.[2]

[1] "Notwithstanding this sharpe encounter at the first, and some miscarriages afterward, yet, (conceiving Gods providence had directed them unto that place, and finding great charge and difficultie in removing,) they resolved to fixe themselves there; and being assisted by some of their freinds in London, having passed over most of the greatest difficulties that usually encounter new Planters, they beganne to subsist at length in a reasonable comfortable manner; being notwithstanding men but of meane and weake estates of themselves. And after a yeares experience or two of the Soyle and Inhabitants, sent home tydings of both, and of their well-being there, which occasioned other men to take knowledge of the place, and to take it into consideration." White, *The Planters Plea*, *67.

[2] In an earlier letter Bradford had expressed himself in a manner requiring explanation. "We wishte you would either roundly suply us, or els wholy forsake us, that we might know what to doe; this you call a short and peremptorie resolution. Be it as it will, we were necesarily occationed by our wants (and the discontents of many) therunto. Yet it was never our purpose or once came into our minds to enter upon any cource before we knew what you would doe, upon an equall treaty of things, according to our former, as we conceivd, bonds between us. And then if you should have left us we mente not to joyne with any other (as you it should seeme conceived) but thought we could get our selves foode, and for cloathes we intended to take the best course we could, and so to use the best means we could to subsiste, or otherwise to returne. Though indeed we thinke if you had left us we might have had others desirous to joyne with us. Also you may conceive some of us have had enough to doe to hould things togeather amongst men of so many humors, under so many dificulties, and feares of many kinds; and if any thing more hath been said or writen to any by us, it hath been only to shew that it might rather be marvilled that we could at all

This leter was subscribed with ·13· of their names.

These passengers, when they saw their low and poore condition a shore, were much danted and dismayed, and according to their diverse humores were diversly affected; some wished them selves in England againe; others fell a weeping, fancying their own miserie in what they saw now in others; other some pitying the distress they saw their freinds had been long in, and still were under; in a word, all were full of sadnes. Only some of their old freinds rejoysed to see them, and that it was no worse with them, for they could not expecte it should be better, and now hoped they should injoye better days togeather. And truly it was [103] no marvell they should be thus affected, for they were in a very low condition, many were ragged in aparell, and some litle beter then halfe naked; though some that were well stord before, were well enough in this regard. But for food they were all alike, save some that had got a few pease of the ship that was last hear. The best dish they could presente their freinds with was a lobster, or a peece of fish, without bread or any thing els but a cupp of fair spring water. And the long continuance of this diate, and their labours abroad, had something abated the freshnes of their former complexion. But God gave them health and strength in *a good measure; and shewed them by experience the truth of that word, Deut.* ·8· 3. *That man liveth not by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth a man live.*

When I think how sadly the scripture speaks of the famine in Jaakobs time, when he said to his sonns, Goe buy us food, that we may live and not dye. Gen.: ·42· 2. and ·43· 1, that the famine was great, or heavie in the land; and yet they had shuch great heirds, and store of catle of sundrie kinds, which, besides flesh, must needs produse other food, as milke, butter and cheese, etc., and yet it was

subsist, then that we were in no better case haveing been so long without suplie, and not at all for your disgrace. If necessity or pation have caried others fuder, your wisdom will (I doute not) beare with it." *Bradford's letter of September* 8, 1623.

counted a sore affliction; theirs hear must needs be very great, therfore, who not only wanted the staffe of bread, but all these things, and had no Egipte to goe too. But God fedd them out of the sea for the most parte, so wonderfull is his providence over his in all ages; for his mercie endureth for ever.

On the other hand the old planters were affraid that their corne, when it was ripe, should be imparted to the new-commers, whose provissions which they brought with them they feared would fall short before the year wente aboute (as indeed it did). They came to the Gov[erno]r and besought him that as it was before agreed that they should set corne for their perticuler, and accordingly they had taken extraordinary pains ther aboute, that they might freely injoye the same, and they would not have a bitte of the victails now come, but waite till harvest for their owne, and let the new-commers injoye what they had brought; they would have none of it, excepte they could purchase any of it of them by bargaine or exchainge.[1] Their requeste was granted them, for it gave both sides good contente; for the new-commers were as much afraid that the hungrie planters would have eat up the provissions brought, and they should have fallen into the like condition.

This ship was in a shorte time laden with clapbord, by the help of many hands.[2] Also they sente in her all the beaver and other furrs they had, and Mr. Winslow was sent over with her, to in-

[1] See p. 391, *infra.*

[2] Bradford contracted with Peirce for a return freight to cost £150, which he supposed the English company would think "something much," but no better terms could be had. "We did it the rather that he might come directly home, for the furtherance of our other affares; as also for some other respects necessarie and benefitiall for us; we have laded him with clap-board, the best we could gett, which we hope at the least will quite the cost; for lengths they are not cut by the advice of the Cooper and pipestafmaker which you sent us; for thicknes they are biger than those which come frome other places, which must accordingly be considered in the prices; the cooper of the ship saith they are worth · 5 · per · 100 · and I here he means to bye some of them of you." *Bradford's letter of September* 8, 1623. The number of furs placed on the *Anne* was not great owing to the causes described on p. 296, *supra.*

forme of all things, and procure shuch things as were thought needfull for their presente condition.[1] By this time harvest was come, and in stead of famine, now God gave them plentie, and the face of things was changed, to the rejoysing of the harts of many, for which they blessed God. And the effect of their particuler planting was well seene, for all had, one way and other, pretty well to bring the year aboute, and some of the abler sorte and more in[104]dustrious had to spare, and sell to others, so as any generall wante or famine hath not been amongst them since to this day.

I may not here omite how, notwithstand[ing] all their great paines and industrie, and the great hopes of a large cropp, the Lord seemed to blast, and take away the same, and to threaten further and more sore famine unto them, by [reason of] a great drought which continued from the ·3· weeke in May, till about the midle of July, without any raine, and with great heat (for the most parte), insomuch as the corne begane to wither away, though it was set with fishe, the moysture whereof helped it much. Yet at length it begane to languish sore, and some of the drier [higher] grounds [lands] were partched like withered [dried] hay, part whereof was never recovered. Upon which they sett a parte a solemne day of humilliation, to seek the Lord by humble and fer-

[1] Bradford described Winslow as "one of our honest freinds . . . and also we have given him Instrucktion to treat with you of all such things as conseirn our publick good and mutuall concord; expecting his returne by the first fishing shipss." *Letter of September* 8, 1623.

The vessel had a long and troublesome passage, but proved seaworthy. "In the latter end of July, and the beginning of August, came two ships with supply unto us; who brought all their passengers, except one, in health, who recovered in short time; who, also, notwithstanding all our wants and hardship, blessed be God! found not any one sick person amongst us at the Plantation. The bigger ship, called the *Anne*, was hired and there again freighted back; from whence we set sail the 10th of September. The lesser called the *Little James*, was built for the company at their charge. She was now also fitted for trade and discovery to the southward of Cape Cod, and almost ready to set sail." Winslow, *Good Newes*, *51. The *Little James* must thus have sailed southward soon after the date of Winslow's departure.

vente prayer, in this great distrese. And he was pleased to give them a gracious and speedy answer, both to their owne, and the Indeans admiration, that lived amongest them. For all the morning, and greatest part of the day, it was clear weather and very hotte, and not a cloud or any signe of raine to be seen, yet toward evening [somewhat after the midle of the after none] it begane to overcast [and before they broake up] and shortly after to raine, with shuch sweete and gentle showers, as gave them cause of rejoyceing, and blessing God. It came, without either wind, or thunder, or any violence, and by degreese in that [lasted all that night in shuch] abundance, as that the earth was thorowly wete and soked therwith [, and the next day was a faire sunshine day againe]. Which did so apparently revive and quicken the decayed corne and other fruits, as was wonderfull to see, and made the Indeans astonished to behold; and after wards the Lord sent them shuch seasonable showers, [and reane till harvest as was necessarie] with enterchange of faire warme weather, as, through his blessing, caused a fruitfull and liberall harvest, to their no small comforte and rejoycing. For which mercie (in time conveniente) they also sett aparte a day of thanksgiveing. This being overslipt in its place, I thought meet here to inserte the same.[1]

Those that came on their perticuler looked for greater matters then they found or could attaine unto, aboute building great houses, and shuch pleasant situations for them, as them selves had fancied; as if they would be great men and rich, all of a sudaine; but they

[1] See note 1 on p. 276. Mr. Deane, judging by sequence in time, transferred this account of the drought to p. 100 of his text. The matter is written on the reverse of f. 102 of the manuscript, and thus falls against this summary of the food conditions for the year, and Bradford expressly states that he "thought meet here to insert the same." No reason is apparent for altering the position of the paragraph. As the account in this place is not a mere copy of that written by Bradford on f. 79, the variations in language are noted, the words in brackets appearing in the earlier entry. Winslow speaks of the same incident in *Good Newes*, *49, 50; p. 300, *supra*, *n.* 3.

proved castels in the aire.[1] These were the conditions agreed on betweene the colony and them.

First, that the Gov[erno]r, in the name and with the consente of the company, doth in all love and frendship receive and imbrace them; and is to allote them competente places for habitations within the towne. And promiseth to shew them all shuch other curtesies as shall be reasonable for them to desire, or us to performe.[2]

·2· That they, on their parts, be subjecte to all shuch laws and orders as are already made, or hear after shall be, for the publick good.

·3· That they be freed and exempte from the generall imployments of the said company, (which their presente condition of comunitie requireth,) excepte commune defence, and shuch other imployments as tend to the perpetuall good of the collony.

[1] Morrell, who wrote with the actual condition of the settlement before him, gave this warning: "Fishermen, manuall artificers, engeners, and good fowlers are excellent servants, and onely fit for plantations. Let not Gentlemen or Citizens once imagine that I prejudize their reputations, for I speake no word beyond truth, for they are too high, or not patient of such service: though they may be very necessary for Martiall discipline, or excellent, (if pious) for example to the seditious and inconsiderate multitude." *New England* at end. "I have myselfe heard some say, that they heard it was a rich land, a brave countrey, but when they came there they could see nothing but a few Canvis Boothes and old houses, supposing at the first to have found walled townes, fortifications and corne fields, as if townes could have built themselves, or cornefields have growne of themselves, without the husbandry of man. These men missing of their expectations, returned home and railed upon the Country." Wood, *New Englands Prospect*, *40.

[2] "Touching those which came unto us in ther pertikerlar, we have received them in as kindly maner as we could, according to our abilite, and offered them as favorable termes as we could touching their footing with us. Yett they are sundrie of them discouraged I know not whether by the countrie (of which they have no triall) or rather for want of those varietis which England affords, from which they are not yet wayned, and being so delitefull to nature cannot easily be forgotten without a former grounded r[esolu]tion. But as they were welcome when they came, [so s]hall they be when they goe, if they thinke it not for their g[oo]d, though we are most glad of honest mens companie, and loath to part from the same." *Bradford's letter of September* 8, 1623.

·4ly· Towards the maintenance of Gov[ernmen]t, and publick officers of the said collony, every male above the age of ·16· years shall pay a bushell of Indean wheat, or the worth of it, into the commone store.

·5ly· That (according to the agreemente, the marchants made with them before they came) they are to be wholy debarred from all trade with the Indeans for all sorts of furrs, and shuch like commodities, till the time of the comunallitie be ended.

About the midle of September arrived Captaine Robart Gorges in the Bay of the Massachusets, with sundrie passengers and families, intending their to begine a plantation;[1] and pitched upon the place Mr. Weston's people had forsaken. He had a commission from the Counsell of New-England, to be generall Gov-e[rno]r of the cuntrie, and they appoynted for his counsell and

[1] Robert Gorges held a grant from the Council of Affairs for New England, dated December 30, 1622, conveying to him, in consideration of the services of his father and the payment of £160, a tract of land in New England called "Messachustack," lying on the northeast side of the bay called "Messachuses," together with all the shores or coasts along the sea for ten English miles in a straight line towards the northeast, and thirty English miles into the mainland with all islets or islands lying within three miles of any part of the said land, excepting such land as had been granted formerly. By the tenure he was to find four able armed men to attend the governor when required. P. R. O., *Colonial*, 1574–1660, 35; Gorges, *Breife Narration*, *34. The quality of his following showed that it was intended to be the forerunner of a larger movement, and was designedly organized upon a grandiose scale, including Church as well as State. It represented the whole dignity of the Council for New England, and also Gorges' favorite scheme of establishing episcopacy in New England Charles Francis Adams, in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, XVI. 196. Robert Gorges had "newly come out of the Venetian war." John Gorges, his brother, succeeded to the grant, and in January, 1628–29, conveyed a part of the territory to Sir William Brereton, who sent over some settlers to occupy it. *Mass. Col. Rec.*, I. 29, 68. Although Wessagusset was deserted after the expedition of Standish, "the pale and houses" were left standing and were occupied by Robert Gorges. He also built some warehouses for storing his goods. Pratt says he was accompanied by six gentlemen and divers men to do his labor, and other men with their families. As the place has always been occupied since that time, it was the first settlement in Massachusetts Bay and the second in Massachusetts. See Adams and Nash in *Weymouth Historical Society*, III.

assistance, Captaine Francis West, the aforesaid admirall, Christopher Levite, Esquire,[1] and the Gov[erno]r of Plimoth for the time beeing, etc. Allso, they gave him authoritie to chuse shuch other as he should find fit. Allso, they gave (by their commission)

[1] In May, 1623, Christopher Levett, captain of one of his majesty's ships, was admitted by the Council for New England as a "principal patantee," on a payment of £100. Six thousand acres of land were granted to him. *Council for New England*, 94. He conceived the plan of building a "city" in his territory, to be called York; and his influence was such that the royal Secretary, Conway, expressly recommended his undertaking to the county and city of York, whence he hoped to draw fifty men, and to add a like number from other parts. He sailed for New England in the same year, and exploring the eastern coast for a place of settlement, finally settled upon that known as Quack. This place was the centre of the fishing stations, and he described it as "about two leagues to the east of Cape Elizabeth," doubtless using Smith's map. It has been identified as Portland harbor. He remained about a month on the plantation of David Thomson, and at that place he "met with the Governor [Gorges], who came thither in a bark which he had from Mr. Weston about twenty days before I arrived in the land. The Governor then told me that I was joined with him in commission as a councillor, which being read I found it was so. And he then, in the presence of three more of the council, administered unto me an oath." *A Voyage into New England*, 91. Levett returned to England in 1624, and sought some active employment, while awaiting a favorable opportunity to resume his New England project. Not succeeding in that, he petitioned the king to be given a sufficient force of ships and men to fortify New England stations near the fishing grounds, pledging himself to make a profitable return. The King, acceding to his wish so far as to appoint him, (he then being a member of the council of the plantation,) governor in those parts, instructed the clergy to read the notice of the adventure in the parish churches, and to pay over to him all such sums as should voluntarily be given. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, xx. 339. It is known that Levett returned to New England, meeting Winthrop there in 1632, but he died on the return passage to England. Baxter, *Christopher Levett* (Gorges Society). Christopher Levett described himself as "not beinge bred upp to any thinge but the sea and in that nether no otherwyse then a traveler and Comander of some Merchant Shipps." *Letter to Coke*, December 26, 1624. But he had never been examined for the Mariner's art, and when he accompanied the expedition to Cadiz, he was in a transport ship, and "used no better than a meare slave." He wished to command the *Neptune*, built by Gorges to transport some of his planters to Maine, and then in public service, but his wish was denied. He put a high estimate on the New England fisheries.

A VOYAGE INTO NEVV ENGLAND

Begun in 1623. and ended in 1624.

Performed by CHRISTOPHER LEVETT, his Maieſties Woodward of *Somerſet ſhire*, and one of the Councell of New-England.



C. 2470

Printed at LONDON, by WILLIAM IONES, and are to be ſold by *Edward Brewſter*, at the ſigne of the Bible in Paules Church yard, 1628.

full power to him and his assistants, or any ·3· of them, wherof him selfe was all way to be one, to doe and execute what to them should seeme good, in all cases, Capitall, Criminall, and Civill, etc., with diverce other instructions.[1] Of which, and his comission, it pleased him to suffer the Gov[erno]r hear to take a coppy.[2]

He gave them notice of his arivall by letter, but before they could visite him he went to the eastward with the ship he came in; but a storme arising, (and they wanting a good pilot to harbor them in those parts,) they bore up for this harbor. He and his men were hear kindly entertained; he stayed hear ·14· days. In the mean time came in Mr. Weston with his small ship, which he had now recovered. [105[3]] Captaine Gorges tooke hold of the opportunite, and acquainted the Gov[erno]r hear, that one occasion of his going to the eastward was to meete with Mr. Weston, and call him to accounte for some abuses he had to lay to his charge. Wherupon he called him before him, and some other of his assistants, with the Gov[erno]r of this place; and charged him, first, with the ille carriage of his men at the Massachusets; by which means the peace of the cuntrie was disturbed, and him selfe and the people which he had brought over to plante in that bay were therby much prejudised.[4] To this Mr. Weston easily an-

[1] The Charter given to the Council for New England by the King in 1620 conferred power on the Council to pass the laws, orders, ordinances, directions and instructions needed to "correct, punish, pardon, govern and rule" all such of the King's subjects as should adventure to New England, and in defect of such laws, in cases of necessity, the plantation officials were to act according to their good discretions, "as well in cases capitall and criminall, as civill, both marine and others, so allways as the said statutes, ordinances, and proceedings, as near as conveniently may be, agreeable to the Laws, statutes, government and policie of this our realme of England." Hazard. I. 110. Doubtless the same provisions were repeated in this commission to Robert Gorges.

[2] Sir Ferdinando acknowledged the aid of those of New Plymouth, "(who by his [Robert's] commission were authorized to be his assistants) to come unto him, who willingly obeyed his order, and as carefully discharged their duties." *Briefe Narration*, *33.

[3] In MS. also 145.

[4] Winslow was as outspoken on evil results of Weston's "disorderly colony, that are

swered, that what was that way done, was in his absence, and might have befalen any man; he left them sufficiently provided, and conceived they would have been well governed; and for any errour committed he had sufficiently smarted. This particuler was passed by. A 2d. was, for an abuse done to his father, Sir Ferdenando Gorges, and to the State. The thing was this; he used him and others of the Counsell of New-England, to procure him a licence for the transporting of many peeces of great ordnance for New-England, pretending great fortification hear in the countrie, and I know not what shipping. The which when he had obtained, he went and sould them beyond seas for his private profite; for which (he said) the State was much offended, and his father suffered a shrowd check, and he had order to apprehend him for it.[1] Mr. Weston excused it as well as he could, but could not deney

dispersed, and most of them returned [to England], to the great prejudice and damage of him that set them forth; who, as they were a stain to Old England that bred them, in respect of their lives and manners amongst the Indians, so, it is to be feared, will be no less to New England, in their vile and clamorous reports, because she would not foster them in their desired idle courses. I would be understood to think there were no well deserving persons amongst them; for of mine knowledge it was a grief to some that they were so yoked." Winslow, *Good Newes from New England*, To the Reader. Even Morton described the Wessagusset people as "no chosen Separatists, but men made choice of at all adventures, fit to have served for the furtherance of Master Westons undertakinges: and that was as much as hee neede to care for: ayminge at Beaver principally for the better effecting of his purpose." *New English Canaan* (Prince Society), 246.

[1] On June 24, 1619, was issued an Order in Council, made by the King's express command, for preventing the unlawful export of iron ordnance, at this time highly esteemed upon the continent. *Calendar State Papers*, Domestic, 1619–1623, 55. The patent granted to the Council for New England provided: "If any person or persons, adventurers or planters of the said colony, or any other, at any time or times hereafter, shall transport any moneys, goods, or merchandizes, out of any of our Kingdoms, with a pretence or purpose to land, sell, or otherwise dispose of the same within the limits and bounds of the said Colony, and yet nevertheless being at sea, or after he hath landed within any part of the said colony shall carry the same into any other foreign country with a purpose there to sell and dispose thereof, that then all the goods and chattels of the said person or persons so offending and transported, together with the ship or

it; it being one maine thing (as was said) for which he with-drew him self. But after many passages, by the mediation of the Gov-[erno]r and some other freinds hear, he was inclined to gentlnes (though he aprehended the abuse of his father deeply); which, when Mr. Weston saw, he grew more presumptuous, and gave shuch provocking and cutting speches, as made him rise up in great indignation and distemper, and vowed that he would either curb him, or send him home for England. At which Mr. Weston was something danted, and came privatly to the Gov[erno]r hear, to know whether they would suffer Captaine Gorges to apprehend him. He was tould they could not hinder him, but much blamed him, that after they had pacified things, he should thus breake out, by his owne folly and rashnes, to bring trouble upon him selfe and them too. He confest it was his passion, and prayd the Gov[erno]r to entreat for him, and pacifie him if he could. The which at last he did, with much adoe; so he was called againe, and the Gov[erno]r was contente to take his owne bond to be

vessel wherein such transportation was made, shall be forfeited to us." Hazard, I. 110. In February, 1623, the Council for New England, on the strength of its patent and the royal proclamation of 1622, sought to inforce a monopoly of transportation to New England, by forbidding it save under a license. As "many persons of evill disposic̃on have heretofore (and may hereafter if care bee not taken) under collour of Transportinge Goods to New England, carried the same into other parts beyond the Seas, to the abuse of his Majesties most gratious favour, contrary to the express commands of the said Counsell," it was ordered that every ship, setting out for New England for fishing or transportation of passengers or provisions, should take a license from the Council, and deliver to the Council a list of passengers and of the cargo. *Records of the Council of New England*, 86. The regulation called for specific information, "all the names, Surnames, Trades, professions and faculties of all pass-[enge]rs, together with an Invoyce or Inventory, Signed also by the proprietor of all such Goods, Cattle, Armes, Munic̃on, and provisions whatsoever, intended to be thither transported in their severall Shipps." It is possible one of the underlying reasons for such a regulation was the misconduct of Weston. If such lists and invoices were ever prepared and filed with the clerk of the Council, none have been found. The depredations on English trade and shipping committed by the pirates of Algiers and Tunis occasioned a royal proclamation, April 6, 1623, prohibiting the furnishing to those places any gunpowder, shot, armour, weapons, munition, or victuals whatever.

ready to make further answer, when either he or the lords should send for him. And at last he tooke only his word, and ther was a freindly parting on all hands.[1]

But after he was gone, Mr. Weston in lue of thanks to the Gov[erno]r and his freinds hear, gave them this quib (behind their baks) for all their pains. That though they were but yonge justices, yet they wear good beggers. Thus they parted at this time, and shortly after the Gov[erno]r tooke his leave and went to the Massachusets by land, being very thankfull for his kind entertainemente. The ship stayed hear, and fitted her selfe to goe for Virginia, having some passengers ther to deliver; and with her returned sundrie of those from hence which came over on their perticuler, some out of discontente and dislike of the cuntrie; others by reason of a fire that broke out, and burnt the houses they lived in, and all their provissions [106 [2]] so as they were necessitated therunto.[3] This fire was occasioned by some of the sea-men that

[1] Gorges gives the charges made against Weston's crew: "That the mischiefe already sustained by those disorderly Persons, are inhumane and intollerable; for first in their manners and behaviour they are worse than the very Savages, impudently and openly lying with their Women, teaching their Men to drinke drunke, to sweare and blaspheme the Name of GOD, and in their drunken humour to fall together by the eares, thereby giving them occasion to seek revenge; besides, they couzen and abuse the Savages in trading and trafficking, selling them Salt covered with Butter in stead of so much Butter, and the like couzenages and deceipts, both to bring the Planters and all our Nation into contempt and disgrace, thereby to give the easier passage to those People that dealt more righteously with them; that they sell unto the Savages, Musquets, Fowling-Pieces, Powder, Shot, Swords, Arrow-Heads, and other Armes, wherewith the Savages slew many of those Fisher-Men, and are growne so able, & so apt, as they become most dangerous to the Planters." *Briefe Narration*, *28. In thus writing he doubtless also had in mind the performances of Thomas Morton, and his companions.

[2] In MS. also 146.

[3] "This was on the fifth of November, 1624[1623]." Morton, *Memoriall*, *51. Among those who met with losses by this fire, and went back to England at this time, was Timothy Hatherley, who came in the *Anne*. His connection with the Plymouth Plantation receives full notice in Bradford's pages. Smith placed the loss at £500, but overstates in saying that seven houses were destroyed. Fires arising from

were roystering in a house wher it first begane, makeing a great fire in very could weather, which broke out of the chimney into the thatch, and burnte downe ·3·or·4·houses, and consumed all the goods and provissions in them. The house in which it begane was right against their store-house, which they had much adoe to save, in which were their commone store and all their provissions; the which if it had been lost, the plantation had been overthrowne. But through Gods mercie it was saved by the great dilligence of the people, and care of the Gov[erno]r and some aboute him. Some would have had the goods throwne out; but if they had, ther would much have been stolne by the rude company that belonged to these ·2· ships, which were all most all ashore. But a trusty company was plased within, as well as those that with wet-cloath and other means kept of the fire without, that if necessitie required they might have them out with all speed. For they suspected some malicious dealling, if not plaine treacherie, and whether it was only suspition or no, God knows; but this is certaine, that when the tumulte was greatest, there was a voice heard (but from whom it was not knowne) that bid them looke well aboute them, for all were not freinds that were near them. And shortly after, when the ve[he]mencie of the fire was over, smoke was seen to arise within a shed that was joynd to the end of the store-house, which was watled up with bowes, in the withered leaves wherof the fire was kindled, which some, runing to quench, found a longe fire brand of an ell longe, lying under the wale on the inside, which could not

this cause were not infrequent, and on January 6, 1627[28] it was ordered that "henceforward no dwelling house was to be couered with any kind of thatche, as straw, reed, etc., but with either bord, or pale, and the like; to wit: of all that were to be new built in the towne." *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, XI. 4. Unfortunately the Plymouth Records for the years before 1633 are wanting, and only a few crude memoranda for the earlier period have been preserved. At some early time the punishment of death was decreed for "willfull and purposed burning of ships [or] howses." *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, XI. 12. In the compilation of Plymouth laws of 1658, the year 1636 is against this section, but it does not necessarily mark the year of its first adoption.

possibly come their by casualtie, but must be laid ther by some hand, in the judgmente of all that saw it. But God kept them from this deanger, what ever was intended.

Shortly after Captaine Gorges, the generall Gov[erno]r, was come home to the Massachusets, he sends a warrante to arrest Mr. Weston and his ship,[1] and sends a m[aste]r to bring her away thither, and one Captain Hanson (that belonged to him) to conducte him along. The Gov[erno]r and others hear were very sory to see him take this course, and tooke exception at the warrante, as not legall nor sufficiente; and withall write to him to disswade him from this course, shewing him that he would but entangle and burthen him selfe in doing this; for he could not doe Mr. Weston a better turne, (as things stood with him); for he had a great many men that belonged to him in this barke, and was deeply ingaged to them for wages,[2] and was in a manner out of victails (*and now winter*); all which would light upon him, if he did arrest his barke. In the time mean Mr. Weston had notice to shift for him selfe; but it was conceived he either knew not whither to goe, or how to mend him selfe, but was rather glad of the occasion, and so stirred not. But the Gov[erno]r would not be perswaded, but [107] sent a very formall warrente under his hand and seall, with strict charge as they would answere it to the state; he also write that he had better considered of things since he was hear, and he could not answer it to let him goe so; besides other things that were come to his knowledg since, which he must answer too. So he was suffered to proceede, but he found in the end that to be true that was tould him; for when an inventorie was taken of what was in the ship, ther was not vitailes found for above · 14 · days, at a bare[3]

[1] The explanation of the seizure of Weston's vessel given by Morton, in the *New English Canaan* (Prince Society), 257, as a "Machivell plot," is about as accurate as most of his statements.

[2] Against this line and in the margin Bradford, or Prince, has crudely drawn a ☞

[3] Bradford wrote "pare."

allowance, and not much else of any great worth, and the men did so crie out of him for wages and diate, in the mean time, as made him soone weary. So as in conclusion it turned to his loss,[1] and the expence of his owne provissions; and *towards the spring* they came to agreement, (after they had bene to the eastward,) and the Gov[erno]r restord him his vessell againe, and made him satisfaction, in bisket, meal, and shuch like provissions, for what he had made use of that was his, or what his men had any way wasted or consumed. So Mr. Weston came hither againe, and afterward shaped his course for Virginie, and so for present I shall leave him.[2] He dyed afterwards at Bristoll, in the time of the warrs, of the sicknes in that place.[3]

The Gov[erno]r and some that depended upon him returned for England, haveing scarcely saluted the cuntrie in his Governmente, not finding the state of things hear to answer his quallitie and condition.[4] The peopl[e] dispersed them selves, some went for

[1] A small hand is crudely drawn in the margin.

[2] Weston traded with Virginia and Maryland and owned land in both plantations. To the latter colony he removed in 1640 and served in the Assembly in 1642. Receiving a patent for 1200 acres, for transporting himself and five able bodied men to Maryland, it was erected into a manor under the name of Westbury Manor. It was on the east side of St. George's Creek in St. George's Hundred. He returned to England in 1644–45, and before 1647 died at Bristol. Misfortune followed him to the end. *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, L. 201–206; *Maryland Archives*, Provincial Court, 1637–1650, 377.

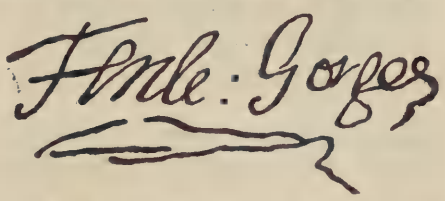
[3] An entry evidently made at a later date. Webster says, "The summer of 1645, being excessively hot, there prevailed a contagious dysentery, which was fatal in England. For the great mortality in England, through a series of years at this time, see the London bills." *Pestilential Diseases*, I. 187.

[4] Robert Gorges returned to England because of the failure to send the much needed supplies for his settlement. His friends, on whose promises he depended, hearing how the father had fared in Parliament "withdrew themselves," and Sir Ferdinando and his friends were "wholly disabled to do any thing to purpose. The report of these proceedings with us, comming to my Sons eares, he was advised to return home, till better occasion should offer it selfe unto him." *Briefe Narration*, *33.

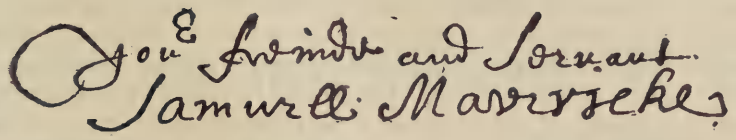
It is much to be feared that this account of the mission and return of Robert Gorges is not entirely open. Knowing the venturesome disposition of the father, and the fact that the son had just returned from the Venetian war, the assertion of the Dutch

England, others for Virginia, some few remained, and were helped with supplies from hence.[1] The Gov[erno]r brought over a minis-

Ambassadors in London, June 4, 1624, is very credible. The Prince of Wales sent Mr. Carr, first Lord of his bedchamber, recommending to them Sir Ferdinando Gorges as "an honest and honorable gentleman, and that we should so consider him, in whatever he had to transact with us." A few days later the purpose of the message became clear. "4th June. The aforesaid Sir Ferdinando Gorges, came to us and made known, that he and his being disposed to annoy the Spaniard, one of his sons who is in New England, proposes some notable enterprises in the West Indies. And inasmuch as he, seeing the uncertainty of the resolutions in England, was afraid that his son, having performed the exploit and coming home, may be complained of in consequence to the King; he prayed that, in case the King of Great Britain remained in friendship with the King of Spain, his son may be guarantied by your High Mightinesses, and commission granted him to annoy the King of Spain, in your name. We praised his good disposition, and said that the exploit, when achieved, could be best avowed. That otherwise, when Naval commissions were issued by your High Mightinesses they were formally maintained. He said he made no difficulty as to that. And, afterwards, put his request in writing, which we have brought over to your High Mightinesses." *New York Col. Doc.*, I. 33.



[1] Though some of the Gorges settlement went to distant places to the south, some remained in Massachusetts, and settled not far from Wessagusset. Of those who remained may be identified John Burslem or Bursley, who was admitted a freeman of the Massachusetts Bay in May, 1631; William Jeffrey, a proprietor of Weymouth in 1642; William Blaxton, clerk, later living on Shawmut (now Boston); Samuel Maverick, and Thomas Walford who settled at Mishawum (now Charlestown). Adams,



Three Episodes, 160; and in *Weymouth Historical Society*, III. Maverick at least as early as 1625 built a house at Winnesimmet, on the north side of Mystic River. "One house yet standing there which is the Antientest house in the Massachusetts Goverment, a house which in the yeare 1625 I fortified with a Pillizado and Flankers and gunnes both belowe and above in them which awed the Indians who at that time had a mind to Cutt off the English. They once faced it but receiveing a repulse never

ter with him, one Mr. Morell, who, about a year after the Gov[erno]r returned, tooke shipping from hence. He had I know not what power and authority of superintendancie over other churches granted him, and sundrie instructions for that end; but he never shewed it, or made any use of it; (it should seeme he saw it was in vaine;) he only speake of it to some hear at his going away.[1] This was in effect the end of a·2· plantation in that place.

attempted it more although (as now they confesse) they repented it when about 2 yeares after they saw so many English come over." 2 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, 1. 366.

[1] Of William Morrell little is known except what can be gathered from Bradford. If he bore a commission from an ecclesiastical court to exercise superintendence over churches that were or might be established in the Plantation, he recognized the unwisdom of seeking to enforce it, and conducted himself with such discretion as to awaken no suspicion of the purpose of his coming. He fittingly represented the effort of Sir Ferdinando to introduce an episcopal establishment in New England. Remaining in the country for a year after the departure of his chief, he employed his "melancholy leisures" in writing a poem in Latin hexameters, with a translation into English heroic verse, and printed it in London on his return to England. The poem alone was reprinted in 1 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, 1. 125, and the entire pamphlet by the Club of Odd Volumes of Boston (1895). The "Epistle Dedicatorie," addressed to the Adventurers for New England, glances at the plantation, thus: "When in contempt of Envy, I may present your Councell with an *OMNE BENE*, at least, *Certâ spe boni*, if the three noble Mistresses of Monarchies, *Pietas*, *Pecunia*, and *Potentia*, royally vndertake and resolutely continue constant favourers to their well ordered and sweetly scituated *Colonies*. Without these, at least the two latter (I suppose vnder favour) the *Spanyard* and *Hollander* had *ad Græcas callendas* raysed to such sweet tones their westerne and easterne flourishing Plantations. But *illorum postpono mea seria ludo*. The keys of Kingdomes, judicious Statesmen are best able to open and explicate these closets and secrets of state. I may admire, but scarce without offence obserue such princely attempts and royall secrets. Yet giue me leaue to you worthy favourers of *Colonies*, as in armes and architecture to be your remembrancer, first to accompt, and then to accomplish: so power and abilitie shall crowne your proceedings with happie perfections." And to the "Vnderstanding Reader" he said: "Error in Poesie is lesse blemish than in Historie. Experience cannot plead me ignorant, much lesse innocent, having seene and suffered. I should delude others *vanâ spe*, or *falso gaudio*. What can be expected from false Relations, but vnhappie proceedings, to the best intended, and most hopefull Colonies. So that want of provisions, and right information, begets in the distracted planter nothing but mutinies, fearefull execrations, and sometimes



New-England.

OR

A BRIEFE ENARRATION OF THE AYRE,

Earth, Water, Fiſh and Fowles of that Country.

WITH

A DESCRIPTION

of the Natures, Orders, Habits, and Religion of the *Natiues*;

IN

Latine and Engliſh Verſe.

Sat brevè, ſi ſat benè.

LONDON,
Imprinted by *I. D.*
1625.

Ther were allso this year some scatering beginings made in other places, as at Paskataway, by Mr. David Thomson,[1] at Monhigen,[2] and some other places by sundrie others.

miserable interitures. But of all such perchance hereafter. These were at this time beyond my intent. I onely now and ever desire that my best incense may for ever waite vpon all truely zealous and religious planters and adventurers, who seriously endevour the dilating of Christs kingdome, in the propagating of the Gospell, and so advisedly vndertake so weightie and so worthie a worke, as that they and theirs may paralell these worthies of the world in all externall, internall, and eternall abundances. Farewell, with this one *Memento;* That the best intended conclusions, without an equivalent abilitie, produce nothing but losse, discontents, opprobries, and imperfections."

[1] David Thomson, of Plymouth, though a Scotchman by birth and once described as "Gent.," had served as useful messenger to the Council of New England, and, apparently, in a more confidential capacity, to Sir Ferdinando Gorges. Becoming interested in the plans of the Council, he obtained a grant of six thousand acres of land and one island in New England, to be located "in some fit place or places there." The grant was signed November 16, 1622, and on December 3 he asked for an order for transporting ten persons with provisions, for New England, the usual payment for such transportation to be made at the expiration of two years. Nothing appears to have come of this application, but it is known that for one fourth part of his grant Thomson contracted, December 14, 1622, with three merchants of Plymouth, Abraham Colmer, Nicholas Sherwill, and Leonard Pomeroy, for his own passage to New England and that of two men in the ship *Jonathan* and that of three men more in the *Providence*. The terms are given in the indenture printed in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, XIV. 358, and constitute a most valuable document on the colonizing methods of that day. The original is in the collections of the Society. Thomson settled at Little Harbor, at the mouth and on the west side of Piscataqua River. The place was later known as Randezvous Point, and now as Odiorne's Point.

During the summer of 1623 Standish was sent to the eastward to procure much needed provision for the colony, and returning, was accompanied by Thomson, who had then been in the country only a few weeks, but long enough to "like well" the place selected for his plantation.

Mr. Deane, in his edition of Bradford's *History*, 208, treats of certain inconsistent statements respecting Thomson, or Trevore, Island. The island was first called Trevore's Island, after one of the seamen on the *Mayflower*. It is now known as "The Farm School Island." It will be noted that the Thomson indenture provides that the lands that shall be settled and all expenses shall be in common for the space of five years from the date of the covenant, at the expiration of which period the land was to be equally divided among the four parties to the covenant. The returns from this land were also subject to an equal division.

[2] In 1605 Champlain was at this island, and named it *La Nef*, "for at a distance

It rests now that I speake a word aboute the pinnass spoken of before, which was sent by the adventurers to be imployed in the cuntrie. She was a fine vessell, and bravely set out,[1] and I fear the adventurers did over pride them selves in her, for she had ill success. How ever, they erred grosly in tow things aboute her; first, though she had a sufficiente maister, yet she was rudly manned, and all her men were upon shares, and none was to have any wages but the m[aste]r. 2ly, wheras they mainly lookt at trade, they had sent nothing of any value to trade with. When the men came hear, and mette with ill counsell from Mr. Weston and his crue, with others of the same stampe, neither m[aster] nor Gov[erno]r could scarce rule [108] them, for they exclaimed that they were abused and deceived, for they were tould they should goe for a man of warr, and take I know not whom, French and Spaniards, etc.[2] They

it had the appearance of a ship." While lying near it he learned from the Indians of Waymouth's ship, the *Archangel*, and of his killing five of the savages of that river "under cover of freindship." In reality the Indians were kidnapped, and taken to England as were those by Hunt. Champlain, *Voyages* (Prince Society), II. 91. The Popham colonists landed on Monhegan in 1607, and refreshed themselves with the abundance of berries found. Captain John Smith describes Monhegan as in 43½° of north latitude, and "among the remarkablest Isles and Mountains for land markes." The place was well known to fishing vessels, and some of Rocroft's men remained there all the winter of 1618–19. Dermer found them there in the spring of 1619. When Levett was on that coast in 1623 he learned that Monhegan was already granted, but no name of the possessor is given by him. In 1622 Abraham Jennens, a merchant of Plymouth, purchased a share in the Council for New England, and under this purchase he held Monhegan, and established there a plantation. This "beginning" is intended by Bradford. In 1626 the island again changed owners (p. 447, *infra*).

[1] With her flages, and streamers, pendents, and wast cloaths, etc. — BRADFORD.

[2] Almost every voyage to the coast of North America contained in it some possibilities of piracy. Even the fishermen did not scruple to seize a weaker vessel of a foreign ownership. See p. 314, *supra*. In this particular instance the New Plymouth Adventurers criticised Altham for not availing himself of an opportunity to take a French vessel that had been passed in the voyage. In his defence he wrote to Sherley:

"And once againe let me be pardoned if I seme to be overbold. I understand by your Letter to Mr Bridge that you are somewhat discontented with mee for not takinge a French man which wee met withall, but to the contrary wonderfully comend and

would neither trade nor fish, excepte they had wages; in fine, they would obey no command of the maisters; so as it was apprehended they would either rune away with the vessell, or get away with the ships, and leave here; so as Mr. Peirce and others of their freinds perswaded the Gov[erno]r to chaing their condition, and give them wages; which was accordingly done.[1] And she was sente

extoll Mr Bridge for his corage and forwardness in the same notwithstanding my backwardness. To answere which I will doe in few words. It soe happned that about 400 leages of the lands end of England we met with a small french man as I take it he was of Rochell, in the morninge we had sight one of another and he stoode right with us and wee with him, Cominge nere us hee spied us to be an Englishman soe he stoode away from us and by a sudden puff of winde brake his maine mast, for we beinge desirous to here news and alsoe to see if he had any skins abord or if he had bin a trading one the Coast of new England we stoode after him and hailed him what he was and whence for he told us he was of Rochell and that he had but 7000 of Corfish abord of him and that he was come from the banke of new found land a fishinge and also that his ship was leake soe he made the more hast home before he had made his vioage, but we mistrustinge him sente our boate abord him to see if he had skins, but in conclusion we saw he was very pore and had not bin a shore on noe place, and soe gave us some fish which at that time we stoode in greate nede of as alsoe of woode of which he had none because he had not bin on land noe where. All thes things being considered I hope you will not blame mee, for I would doe in your behalfe in that kinde rather more then less then my commission would beare me out in, but this ship was 500 leages from any part of new England when we met her and if I should have done it I had brought a greate troble both upon you and my selfe for I will assure you and all the Company that if you will but get a letter of mart and a safe protection from his Majestie of England for taking of french men on new found land banke you might esily with this pinace take and leave what ships you list . . . for wee had sight of 20 saile of French men at one time and I beleve never a one had any ordnance, but to end pray pardon mee if I have done amiss but what I did I have done in my opinion and in the opinion of all the companies at Plimoth for your pease and my owne safty, for the governor hath sene my comission and saith him selfe I could not have answered it, therefore pray blame mee not for my good will and care, for I should be very loth to lose a frend for nothinge and upon noe occasion especially when frends are hard to get." *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, XLIV. 186.

[1] Bradford wrote at length on this complication. "We are sorie that shee is maned with so rude a crew of sailors; we hope the maister [Bridge, who was at this time at New Plymouth] is an honest man; and we find the capten [Altham] to be a loving and courteous gentle-man, yet they could not both of them rule them, so as we were faine to alter their conditions and agree with them for wages as well as we could; and this

about the Cape to the Narigansets to trade, but they made but a poore vioage of it. Some corne and beaver they got, but the Dutch

we did not only by the capten, and maisters, together with Mr. Peirces advice, but we saw we were of necessitie constrained thereunto to prevente furder mischefe, which we saw would unavoydably ensew; for besides the endangering of the ship, they would obey no command, at least without continuall mürmuring, aleging that they were cousened and deseaved and should saile and worke for nothing, the which they would be hanged rather than they would doe, as also that they would not fish, or doe any such thing; they said they were fited out for a taker, and were tould that they might take any ship what soever that was not to strong for them, as far as the West Endeans, and no other imployment would they follow; but we doubt not now to have them at a better pass, and hope to raise some benefite by her imploymente; shee is now to go to the southward; we have sent to the Indeans, and they promise us we shall have both corne and skines; at her returne we think to send her northward, both to fish and truck, if it please God to bless them." *Letter of September* 8, 1623.

Bridge, the master of the *Little James* was outspoken in his disgust at the behavior of the men. "No man shall mak me venter to sea againe with men upon the sam condetions for theay car not whitch end went forwardes and now the governer [Bradford] seing our troubell so great and fering what might insew haveth cum to cumposision with them for wages or eles I might have bread a gre[at] inconveinentes whitch the captain and I allwais fered so that yet is now a letell mended and I hop will mend still we ar now bound to the Suthward a trading I pray god send us god suckses for corne and skenes and in the spreing god willing I think we shall to the norward upon trad and fishing we are now readey to set saill within this 2 daies for till Mr Perse was gone theay could not spare us noe men or else we had ben gone befor now but we shall be sone enow for corne and I hop to god for skenes we were 3 monthes and 2 daies outward and had mutch foule wether and foges consedring the time of year as ever I knew the Ane was thear 8 daies be for us we rod at anker upon the cost 7 daies befoged and she being a great shep in time of fowle wether out bor us I think that was the reason yf we had not renewed our vetales at the Ile of Wight we had cum short of drink especially for we careyed but 4 hoges hedes of beare in with us and our other provetiones mutch wasted." *John Bridge to Sherley*, September 9, 1623. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, XLIV. 180.

Altham, then fishing at Pemaquid, was summoned to Plymouth to aid in smoothing the difficulties encountered in controlling the unruly crew. He wrote to Sherley, May 28, 1624:

"Soe sone as Mr. Perce his cominge into the land came to my eres I was forced much against my minde both by the importunity of Mr. Brige and insolences of all our company to make a vioage from Pemequide to Plimoth which had I not undertaken although with much hazard of my person all our company had and would have dispersed themselves and if ether my selfe or the master would detaine them they

used to furnish them with cloath and better commodities, they haveing only a few beads and knives, which were not ther much

openly thretened a more spedy revenge ether to kill us or to blow our ship up but thes things are past and the party deade whoe spake it and I feare that god whoe knoweth all hearts prevented him by death from actinge thoes villanous projets which by his words in his life he professed to do.

"The occasions of this was two, first in regard provisions went very hard with us and the next was a folish and nedeless feare they had of there wages. To prevent all this and farther mischiefe I went to Plimoth about the beginninge of Aprill where by the way I was forced with contrary winds and fowle wether to stay somewhat longer then I wished, but at my coming to Cape Ann I there found Mr. Winslow and master Perce for which I was very joyfull and soe h[avin]ge receved of them divers comendations and letters from your selfe and my other frends I went with all possible spede to Plimoth to know the governors resolution for thus it was, that provisions we had but very few before Crismas but were fane to heve some pease out of Plimoth store and soe because we were goinge to fish amonge our countremen we thought to get divers things by reson of Mr. Brige his acquaintance, but thes our hopes were much frustrated for coming to the fishermen we could have noe provision without present pay which I was destitute of notwithstandinge I offred to become bonde for any thinge I tooke up, but they not regarding nether the Companies nor my word did rather solicite our men to come worke with them for there victals, and to leave the ship, then to shew any love or frendship to us in helpinge us, there fore rather then our company should goe away and our vioage be overthrowne we were constrained to use a present though unwilling meanes to get some provisions as bred and pease which before wee were destitute of soe havinge despached my business at Plimoth and receved my or[der] From the governor Mr. Bradford and his assistants, which was that looke what fish wee had caught in our pinnace should presently be brought to Cape Ann and to deliver it to Mr. Perce and afterwards to aide and helpe Mr. Perce in his vioage, in what we could both with our men and boats to all which as I am in duty bound soe I consented unto it and with all convenient spede wente away to our ship Mr. Winslow beinge with mee and by this time which was about the last of Aprill I thought Mr. Bridge had kild about 10,000 fish for more I thinke our salt would not have saved." *Ib.* 182.

One of the ship's company was particularly named as troublesome — Thomas Dawson, the surgeon. Bridge's reference to the subject is obscure. He confines himself to saying, that "Mr. Sirgen is cum away upon sum distrust and misbehaveyour but let every man medell with his owne maters for I have enow of my owne." Altham could not restrain himself, and wrote to Sherley:

"I doe understand that Thomas Dawson the sirgion hath bin very large on his tongue concerninge my selfe or that I should be displaced by Mr Bradford, and many other contumelious speches, as alsoe he informed you about the frenchman, for all which I

esteemed.[1] Allso, in her returne home, at the very entrance into ther owne harbore, she had like to have been cast away in a storme, and was forced to cut her maine mast by the bord, to save herselfe

pray sir if you see him certifie him that I will make him answere it in England, and although it cost 100*li* I will make him see the goale for it, and there he shall lie if god bless me homeward, if it please god to deale otherwaies with mee I pray god give him more grace, but I hope you doe not beleve him, but I wold wish you rather suspect him, for he is the veriest villane that I ever knew as hath bin testified buy his cariage both to Plimoth Company, your owne selfe and Company and alsoe to mee. And truly I feare that I shall justly lay that to his charge which if it be prosecuted will goe nere to hang him." Bradford was again called in to solve the difficulties. He reported that: "we found the chirugion in the pinas to be so proude and quarelsome a man, and to use his termes in that sorte, as the Capten and others durst not goe to sea with him; being over ready to raise factions and mutanie in the shipe; so as we were constrained to dismise him, and hire Mr. Rogers in his roome, Mr. Peirce being willing to releace him, to doe us a favore. He is to have ·35·*s* per month, wherof he desirs his wife may have ·16·*s* a month, which we pray you may be accordingly performed." *Letter of September* 8, 1623.

[1] The planters already saw the growth of competition in the fur trade, which would affect their interests. Having described the necessity for parting with beaver skins to the amount of three or four hundred pounds (*supra*, p. 317) Bradford continued: "And yet these are nothing to those we have lost for want of means to geather them when the time was, which I fear will scarce ever be againe, seeing the Duch on one side and the French on the other side and the fishermen and other plantations betweene both have, and doe furnish the savages, not with toyes and trifles, but with good and substantial commodities, as kettles, hatchets, and clothes of all sorts; yea the french doe store them with biskay shalopes fited both with sails and ores, with which they can either row or saile as well as we; as also with peices powder and shot for fowling and other servises; (we are informed that ther are at this present a ·100· men with ·8· shalops coming from the eastward, to robe and spoyle their neighbours westwards); also I know upon my owne knowledg many of the Indeans to be as well furnished with good kettles, both strong and of a large size, as many farmers in England; yet notwithstand[ing] we shall not nectlect to use the best means we can with the pinnas and means we now have, both for trading or any other imployment the best we can for both your and our advantage."

As yet there was no strong jealousy between the people of New Plymouth and the Dutch on Manhattan island, although the possibility of competition in trade was recognized and the danger of this competition foreshadowed. Having command of the Hudson River the Dutch tapped the rich fur country of the Iroquois, and a cargo of furs sent home in 1626 proves how profitable the region was, for it comprised 7246 beaver, 853 otter, and small numbers of mink, wild cat and rat skins. *New York*

from driving on the flats that lye without, caled Browns Ilands, the force of the wind being so great as made her anchors give way and she drive right upon them; but her mast and takling being gone, they held her till the wind shifted.

NOTE.

*4[1] *The Falles of their grounds which came first ouer in the May-Floure, according as thier lotes were cast ·1623·[2]

	Robart Cochman.....	1	the number [of]
	Mr William Brewster.....	6	akers to [each]
	William Bradford.....	3	one.
	Richard Gardener.....	1	
these lye on the	Frances Cooke.....	2	
South side of	George Soule.....	1	
the brooke to	Mr Isaak Alerton.....	7	
the baywards.	John Billington.....	3	
	Peter Browen.....	1	
	Samuell Fuller.....	2	
	Joseph Rogers.....	2	

these containe ·29· akers.

These lye one	John Howland.....	4	
the South side	Steuen Hobkins.....	6	
of the brook to	Edward "	1	
the woodward	Edward "	1	
opposite to the	Gilbard Winslow.....	1	
former.	Samuell Fuller Juneor.....	3	

these containe ·16· akers besides Hobamaks ground which lyeth betwene Jo: Howlands and Hobkinses.

Col. Doc., I. 37. Perhaps it was this very success in dealing with the Indians and obtaining from them so profitable a trade that led to the interchange of letters between New Plymouth and Manhattan in 1627.

[1] The folio of the MS. volume.

[2] From *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, XII. 4.

	this ·5· akers lyeth behind the forte to the litle ponde.	William White	5
		Edward Winslow	4
		Richard Warren	[2]
	these lye one the north side of the towne nexte adjoyning to	John Goodman	*
		John Crackston	*
		John Alden	*
		Marie Chilton	*
*5	their gardens which came in the Fortune.	*Captin Myles Standish	2
		Francis Eaton	4
		Henerie Samson	1
		Humillitie Cooper	1

*The fales of their grounds which came in the Fortune according as their Lots were cast 1623.

This ship came Nov[r] 1621.

*6

these lye to the sea, eastward.		These lye beyond the f[irst] brooke to the wood we[st] ward.	
William Hilton	1	William Wright and William Pitt	2
John Winslow	1	Robart Hickes	1
William Conner	1	Thomas Prence	1
John Adams	1	Steuen Dean	1
William Tench and John Cannon	2	Moyses Simonson and Philipe de la Noye	2
		Edward Bompass	1
these folowing lye beyonde the ·2· brooke.		Clemente Brigges	1
		James Steward	1
		William Palmer	2
		Jonathan Brewster	1
Hugh Statie	1	Benet Morgan	1
William Beale and Thomas Cushman	2	Thomas Flauell and his son,	2
Austen Nicolas	1	Thomas Morton	1
Widow Foord	4	William Bassite	2
15. akers.		19. akers.	

*The fales of their grounds which came ouer in the shipe called the Anne according as their were cast. 1623. *10

	Akers		
James Rande	1		
these following lye beyond the brooke to Strawberie-hill.			
Edmond Flood	1		
Christopher Connant	1		
Francis Cooke	4		
these but against the swampe and reed-ponde.			
George Morton and Experience Michell	8		
Christian Penn	1		
Thomas Morton Junior	1		
William Hiltons wife and ·2· children.	3		

	these to the sea eastward. ak[rs.]		
Francis Spragge	3		
Edward Burcher	2		
John Jenings	5		
goodwife Flauell	1		
Manasseh and John Fance	2		
this goeth in with a corner by the ponde.			
Allice Bradford	1		
Robart Hickes his wife and children	4		
Brigett Fuller	1		
Ellen Newton	1		
Pacience and Fear Brewster, with Robart Long	3		
William Heard	1		
Mrs. Standish	1		

These following lye on the other side of the towne towards the eele-riuer.

Marie Buckett adioyning to Joseph Rogers	1	Robart Rattlife beyonde the swampie & stonie ground	[2]
Mr Ouldom and those joyned with him	10	These butt against Hobes Hole.	
Cudbart Cudbartsone	6	Nicolas Snow	*
Anthony Anable	4	Anthony Dixe	*
Thomas Tilden	3	Mr Perces ·2· Ser:	*
Richard Warren	5	Ralfe Walen,	*
[Edward] Bangs	4		

*11

*South side.		North side.	
Steph: Tracy three acres....	3	Edw: Holman 1. acre	1
Tho. Clarke one acre.....	1	Frances wife to Wil Palmer 1. acre	
Robt Bartlet one acre.....	1	Josuah Prat and Phineas Prat	2

Anno Dom: ·1624·

THE time of new election of ther officers for this year being come, and the number of their people increased, and their troubles and occasions therwith, the Gov[erno]r desired them to chainge the persons, as well as renew the election; and also to adde more Assistans to the Gov[erno]r for help and counsell, and the better carrying on of affairs. Showing that it was necessarie it should be so. If it was any honour or benefite, it was fitte others should be made pertakers of it; if it was a burthen, (as doubtles it was,) it was but equall others should help to bear it; and that this was the end of Annuall Elections. The issue was, that as before ther was but one Assistante, they now chose ·5· giving the Gov[erno]r a duble voyce; and aft[er]wards they increased them to ·7· which course hath continued to this day.[1]

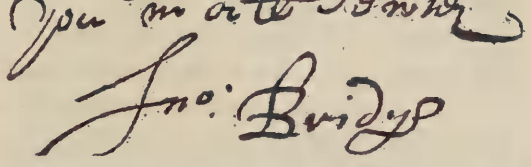
They having with some truble and charge new-masted and rigged their pinass, in the begining of March they sent her well vitaled to the eastward on fishing. She arrived safly at a place near Damarins cove, and was there well harbored in a place wher ships used to ride, ther being also some ships allready arived out of England. But shortly after ther [109] arose shuch a violent and extraordinarie storme, as the seas broak over shuch places in the

[1] The company in London appears to have made some inquiry into the manner of governing the plantation and to have given suggestion for a modification, in some manner not shown by the records. "Touching our governemente you are mistaken if you think we admite weomen and children to have to doe in the same, for they are excluded, as both reason and nature teacheth they should be; neither doe we admite any but such as are above the age of ·21· years, and they also but only in some weighty maters, when we thinke good; yet we like well of your course, and advice propounded unto us, and will as soon as we can with convenience bring it into practice, though it should be well it were so ordered in our patent." *Bradford's letter of September* 8, 1623.

harbor as was never seene before, and drive her against great roks, which beat shuch a hole in her bulke,[1] as a horse and carte might have gone in, and after drive her into deep-water, wher she lay sunke. The m[aste]r was drowned, the rest of the men, all save one, saved their lives, with much a doe; all her provision, salt, and what els was in her, was lost.[2] And here I must leave her to lye till afterward.

[1] Bradford first wrote the word "bilge."

[2] Altham, continuing his account of his acts in New England after intending to meet Bridge and receive his cargo of fish (*supra*, p. 344), wrote to Sherley: "but by the bacwordness of our people and strange mishap thes hopes were quite altered for coming within one daies jorney of our ship this untimely news came to mee that our pinnace was cast away and Mr. Bridge and two of our men drowned being John Vow and Peter Morrett (all which news did not a little troble mee) knowinge what great cost and charge you have bin at for us, and also knowing that upon the good and prosperity of the ship and vioage depended part of my reputation and profit. but this unwelcome news did in conceite deprive of both. But cominge home to our ship I there found this news true thus farr, that Mr. Bridge our master was drowned and the two men, and the ship in a very strange manner spoiled for thus it fortuned that upon the 10th of Aprill 1624 hapned a greate storme and some of our cables that we were mored withall gave way and slip of on the place they were made fast to ashore and soe the winde and sea being very high drave our ship a shore upon rockes where she beate. In the mean time being night the master and Company arose and every man shifted for them selves to save life, but the master going in to his cabin to fetch his whishell could not get in to any boate aboute the ship the sea brake soe over the ship and soe by that meanes before a boat could come the ship overset and drowned him and the other two and the rest that were got into our shallops that hung about the ship had much a doe to recover the shore your cosin for one for the ship oversettinge pich her maineyard in to one boate where were 6 or 7 of our men and soe sunke her for thoes that could then swim got to the shore with much hurt the rest that could not swim were drowned, and soe before the next morninge our ship was quite under water sunke and nothing to be sene save only the tops of her masts some times for the sea did rake her to and fro upon the rocks All which disasters did not a little troble mee for our ship was not only spoiled, our men drowned, but wee that were saved lost



Some of those that still remained hear on their perticuler, began privatly to nurish a faction, and being privie to a strong faction that was among the adventurers in England, on whom sundry of them did depend, by their private whispering they drew some of the weaker sorte of the company to their side, and so filld them with discontente, as nothing would satisfie them excepte they might be suffered to be in their perticuler allsoe; and made great offers, so they might be freed from the generall. The Gov[erno]r consulting with the ablest of the generall body what was best to be done hear in, it was resolved to permitte them so to doe, upon equall conditions. The conditions were the same in effect with the former before related.[1] Only some more added, as that they should be bound here to remaine till the generall partnership was ended. And also that they should pay into the store, the on halfe of all shuch goods and comodities as they should any waise raise above their food, in consideration of what charg had been layed out for them, with some shuch like things. This liberty granted, soone stopt this gape, for ther was but a few that undertooke this course when it came too; and they were as sone weary of it. For the other had perswaded them, and Mr. Weston togeather, that ther would never come more supply to the generall body; but the perticulers had shuch freinds as would carry all, and doe for them I know not what.

Shortly after, Mr. Winslow came over,[2] and brought a prety

the most part of what wee had in the ship, my selfe especially lost my bokes and some clothes and most of what I had, but my comfort is that God will restore mee some thinge one day againe for afflictions are but trialls of his love. [We lost three shallops and our ships boate and another shallop we borrowed which we . . .]" The words in brackets were written lengthways in the margin, and the sentence was not completed.

[1] See p. 326, *supra*.

[2] "Morton says, 'in the month of March.' According to this History, it appears that Winslow and Lyford came in the same ship which brought the first cattle; and this is called the *Charity*. In the Plymouth Records relative to the division of cattle, in 1627, it is stated that they were brought in the *Ann*. If both ships had arrived at

good supply, and the ship came on fishing, a thing fatall to this plantation.[1] He brought ·3· heifers and a bull, the first begining of any catle of that kind in the land,[2] with some cloathing and other

this time, with passengers and supplies for the colony, it seems probable that Bradford would have mentioned it; and we are therefore led to infer that an error exists either in the Colony Records, or in this History, as to the name of this ship. It will be observed that she is called the 'Charitie' in Sherley's letter on the following page." DEANE. The *Charity* reached New Plymouth "about five weekes after her departure from the English coast," and after discharging her goods and passengers went immediately to Cape Ann.

[1] In spite of this unfavorable view of the fishing ventures, a few months earlier Bradford held a more sanguine position. "It is for certain that great profite is here raised by fishing; the shipes have this year [1623] made great viages, and were a great many of them; and if we could fall once more into the right cource about it, and be able to manage it, it would make good all; a good fishing place will be a great advantage for it, wher the boats may goe quickly in and out to sea at all times of the tide, and well stoed with fish neer at hand, and convenient places to make it, and build stages in, and then it will not only serve for our own fishing, but after it be known once by experience to be a place well quallified for that purpose, benefite will be made of it by granting licence to others to fish there." *Bradford's letter of September* 8, 1623. In these sanguine views he was supported by the favorable opinion of Altham, at this time at New Plymouth: "Out of all question the course that you have setled now will bring in profit inough, for they make salt at Plimoth, and have good store of boates, all which is meanes to bring in profit, and I make noe question now but that new Plimoth will quickly returne your mony againe for the most part they are honest and carefull men, however they have had many crosses, yet now they will florish god blessinge them, which god grant. . . . but I doe not doubt of the profit that may be raised the next yere for now you have laiyed as good a ground plot as ever was and better then before, for with out this course of fishinge you cannot have your monies againe."

[2] The suggestion for cattle came from New Plymouth. "It would be a principall stay and a comfortable help to the Colonie if they had some catle, in many respects, first it would much encourage them, and be in time a gretter ease both for tillage of ground, and cariag of burden; 2ly, it will make victuals both more plentifull, and comfortable; 3ly, it might be a good benefite after some encrease that they might be able to spare some to others that should have thoughts this way; espetialy goats are very useful for the first, and very fite for this place, for they will here thrive very well, are a hardly creature, and live at no charge, ether wenter or sommer, their increas is great and milke very good, and need little looking toe; also they are much more easily transported and with less difficulty and hassard, then other kattle; yet tow of those

necessaries, as will further appear; but withall the reporte of a strong faction amongst the adventure[r]s against them,[1] and espetially against the coming of the rest from Leyden, and with what difficulty this supply was procured, and how, by their strong and long opposision, bussines was so retarded as not only they were now falne too late for the fishing season, but the best men were taken up of the fishermen in the west countrie, and he was forct to take shuch a m[aste]r and company for that imployment as he could procure upon the present. Some letters from thence shall beter declare these things, being as followeth [110].

Most worthy and loving freinds, Your kind and loving leters I have received, and render you many thanks, etc. It hath plased God to stirre up the harts of our adventure[r]s to raise a new stock for the seting forth of this shipe, caled the Charitie, with men and necessaries, both for the plantation and the fishing, though accomplished with very great difficulty; in regard we have some amongst us which undoubtedly aime more at their owne private ends, and the thwarting and opposing of some hear, and other worthy instruments[2] of Gods

which came last dyed by the way, but it was by some neclegence. For kine and other catle it will be best when any comes that it be in the spring, for if they should come against the winter, they would goe near to dye; the Colonie will never be in good estate till they have some." *Bradford's letter of September* 8, 1623.

Speculating on the climate of New England, at more length than can here be quoted, Hubbard (*History*, 19–21) notes as follows the effect of the long winters on the cattle: "By reason of this long continued and extreme sharpness of the cold through the whole country, the seven months of the summer's increase are usually devoured by the five lean and barren ones of the winter following, as was shewed to Pharoah in his dream; so as if some stranger should chance to be there in the end of every winter, he might be ready to think, that all the cattle here were the issue of Pharoah's lean kine, that had been transported hither; the cattle at that time of the year much resembling the wild deer in Greenland, when the bridegroom of the earth begins to smile upon them, after the long, cold, and dark night of winter begins to take his leave." Hubbard wrote about fifty years after the settlement of New Plymouth.

[1] This clearly refers to Lyford and to Oldham, who were on their particular, and possessed some influence among the adventurers in England. See p. 392, *infra*.

[2] He means Mr. Robinson. — Bradford.

glory elswher, then at the generall good and furtherance of this noble and laudable action. Yet againe we have many other, and I hope the greatest parte, very honest Christian men, which I am perswaded their ends and intents are wholy for the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the propagation of his gospell, and hope of gaining those poore salvages to the knowledg of God. But, as we have a proverbe, One scabed sheep may marr a whole flock, so these male contented persons, and turbulente spirits, doe what in them lyeth to withdraw mens harts from you and your freinds, yea, even from the generall bussines; and yet under show and pretence of godlynes and furtherance of the plantation. Wheras the quite contrary doth plainly appeare; as some of the honester harted men (though of late of their faction) did make manifest at our late meeting. But what should I trouble you or my selfe with these restles opposers of all goodnes, and I doubte will be continuall disturbers of our frendly meetings and love. On Thurs-day the ·8· of Jan[uary] we had a meeting aboute the artickles betweene you and us;[1] wher they would rejecte that, which we in our late leters prest you to grante, (an addition to the time of our joynt stock). And their reason which they would make known to us was, it trobled their conscience to exacte longer time of you then was agreed upon at the first. But that night they were so followed and crost of their perverse courses, as they were even wearied, and offered to sell their adventures; and some were willing to buy. But I, doubting they would raise more scandale and false reports, and so diverse waise doe us more hurt, by going of in shuch a furie, then they could or can by continuing adventurers amongst us, would not suffer them.[2] But on the ·12· of

[1] It will be noted that on January 1, or a week before this meeting, Cushman and Winslow had obtained a patent for Cape Ann from Edmund, Lord Sheffield.

[2] Sherley claimed to be "the receiver of the most part of the adventures and a second causer of much of the engagements, and one more threatened, being most envied and aimed at (if they could find any step to ground their malice on) than any other of the adventurers whosoever." *Sherley to Bradford*, December 27, 1627. *Bradford Letter Book*. He was in 1623 treasurer of the New Plymouth Adventurers. Bridge addressed him "at his house in Croked Lane," London, and Altham, as "dewellinge on London bridg (at the Golden horsshow)." Crooked Lane, running between Fish Street (which led to London Bridge,) and St. Michaels Lane, lay partly

Jan[uary], we had another meting, but in the interime diverse of us had talked with most of them privatly, and had great combats and reasoning, pro and con. But at night when we mete to read the generall letter, we had the loveingest and frendlyest meeting that ever I knew[1] and our greatest enemise offered to lend us 50*li*. So I sent for a potle of wine, (I would you could[2] doe the like,) which we dranke freindly together. Thus God can turne the harts of men when it pleaseth him, etc. Thus loving freinds, I hartily salute you all in the Lord, hoping ever to rest.

Yours to my power,

James Sherley.

Jan: 25. 1623–24.

[111] *Another leter.*

Beloved Sir, etc. We have now sent you, we hope, men and means, to setle these ·3· things, viz. fishing, salt making, and boat making; if you can bring them to pass to some perfection, your wants may be supplyed. I pray you bend you[r] selfe what you can to setle these bussinesses. Let the ship be fraught away as soone as you can, and sent to Bilbow.[3] You must send some discreete man for factore, whom, once

in Candlewick and partly in Bridge Within Wards. The Swan in Crooked Lane "possessed of strangers, and selling of Rhenish wine," was one of the most ancient houses in the Lane, and was known for its leaden porch. Stow, *Survey of London* (Kingsford), I. 219. The Golden Horseshoe is not mentioned by Stow.

[1] But this lasted not long, they had now provided Lyford and others to send over. — Bradford.

[2] It is worthy to be observed, how the Lord doth chaing times and things; for what is now more plentifull then wine? and that of the best, coming from Malago, the Cannaries, and other places, sundry ships lading in a year. So as ther is now more cause to complaine of the excess and the abuse of wine (through mens corruption) even to drunkennes, then of any defecte or wante of the same. Witnes this year 1646. The good Lord lay not the sins and unthankfullnes of men to their charge in this perticuler. — Bradford. This note is written on the reverse of f. 109 of the MS. This indulgence on the part of Sherley and his associates appears to have called forth some comment from New Plymouth. See p. 431, *infra*.

[3] The economy of a fishing voyage varied within wide limits. The cost of fitting out a ship of two hundred tons was £2000. Dry fish in Spain sold for ten to twenty shil-

more, you must also authorise to confirme the conditions. If Mr. Winslow could be spared, I could wish he came againe.

This ship carpenter is thought to be the fittest man for you in the land, and will no doubte doe you much good.[1] Let him have an absolute comand over his servants and shuch as you put to him. Let him build you ·2· catches,[2] a lighter, and some ·6· or ·7· shalops, as soone as you can. The salt-man is a skillfull and industrious man, put some to him, that may quickly apprehende the misterie of it.[3] The preacher we have sent is (we hope) an honest plaine man, though none of the most eminente and rare. Aboute chusing him into office use your owne liberty and discretion; he knows he is no officer amongst you, though

lings a quintal. At ten shillings, a voyage with full cargo would return the entire cost of ship and men — or £2000 — leaving as net gain the more certain profits of the wine cargo to England. Smith, *Description of New England*, *40. The export trade in fish from England was at this time inconsiderable; on the contrary, a considerable portion of the domestic consumption was imported. The great profits derived by the Dutch from their fisheries had been urged upon the English government as a good reason for encouraging the fishing adventures, not to speak of the fisheries as a nursery for seamen from which the navy could recruit its strength. Even down to the close of the 18th century the export of fish to Spain was a considerable factor in colonial trade.

[1] On August 6, 1622, a royal proclamation issued forbidding any "Mariner or Seafaring Man, Ship-Wright, or Ship-Carpenter whatever," to enter the service of any foreign prince without a license of the King. The preparation for war supplied the pretext for this order, and the conditions prevailing in the two succeeding years did not permit a relaxation of its terms.

[2] A catch was a vessel of small size, but the name was also applied to "a strongly built vessel of the galiot order, usually two-masted, and of from 100 to 250 tons burthen." *English Historical Dictionary*. Glanville, writing in 1625, described a catch as " short and round built, bee verie apt to turne up and downe, and usefull to goe to and fro and to carry messages between shipp and shipp almost with anie wind."

[3] Bradford replied to this suggestion: "As touching making of salte we have by accedente had speech with one of the north cuntrie, who came with Mr. Reinolds (who put in here), and was his mate; he had speech with our smith aboute the making of salt pane, he douts he cannot do it; also he saith if they goe about it that have no skill they will quickly burne the pans and doe no good, wheras if they be skillfully ordered they may last a long time. He thought we might have some frome about Newcastle that would best fite our tourne for that bussines, we pray you provide for us here about as soone as you can, that we may doe some thing to the purpose." *Bradford's letter of September* 8, 1623.

perhaps custome and universalitie may make him forget him selfe. Mr. Winslow and my selfe gave way to his going, to give contente to some hear, and we see no hurt in it, but only his great charge of children.[1]

We have tooke a patente for Cap Anne, etc.[2] I am sory ther is no more discretion used by some in their leters hither. Some say you are starved in body and soule; others, that you eate piggs and doggs, that dye alone; others, that the things hear spoaken of, the goodnes of the cuntry, are gross and palpable lyes; that ther is scarce a foule to be seene, or a fish to be taken, and many shuch like.[3] I would shuch dis-

[1] Savage conjectures that Lyford brought four children. Three are known by name, Ruth, Obadiah and Mordecai, who received bequests in tobacco under their father's will. *Suffolk Deeds*, I. 27. Mordecai was about fourteen years of age in 1639, when he chose his step-father Edmund Hobart as his guardian, to care for his claims on lands and tenements in the county of Tyrone, and on a lease at Leballeglish in county Armagh, Ireland. Obadiah, clerk, was dead at the time this choice was made. Lechford, *Note Book*, 141, 143. From the fact that papers relating to the Irish estate of Lyford were sent through Richard Andrews, it may be assumed that Andrews was one of his original supporters among the Adventurers. *Ib.* 142. Lyford is a place-name in Berkshire county, England, but nothing exists to connect this errant clergyman with the Lyfords of Hurley. *Visitation of Berkshire* (Harleian Society), I. 244.

[2] This was in response to a direction from New Plymouth. "We have write to the counsell [for New England] for an other patente for Cape Anne to weet for the westerside of it, which we know to be as good a harbore as any in this land, and is thought to be as good fishing place; and seeing fishing must be the cheefe, if not the only means to doe us good; and it is like to be so fite a place, and lyeth so neer us; we thinke it verie necessarie to use all diligence to procure it; and therfore we have now write unto you and the counsell againe about it, least our former letters should not be come, or not delivered, of which we have some suspition; Mr. Weston hath writen for it, and is desirous to get it before us; and the like doth Mr. Thomson; which is one spetiall motive that hath moved us to send over this messenger fore named [Winslow]; as allso about that grand patent which we understand you have gott from Mr. Peirce." *Bradford's letter of September* 8, 1623. One of the objects in applying for this patent for Cape Ann was to correct the too strait bounds mentioned in the Peirce patent. *Supra*, p. 308.

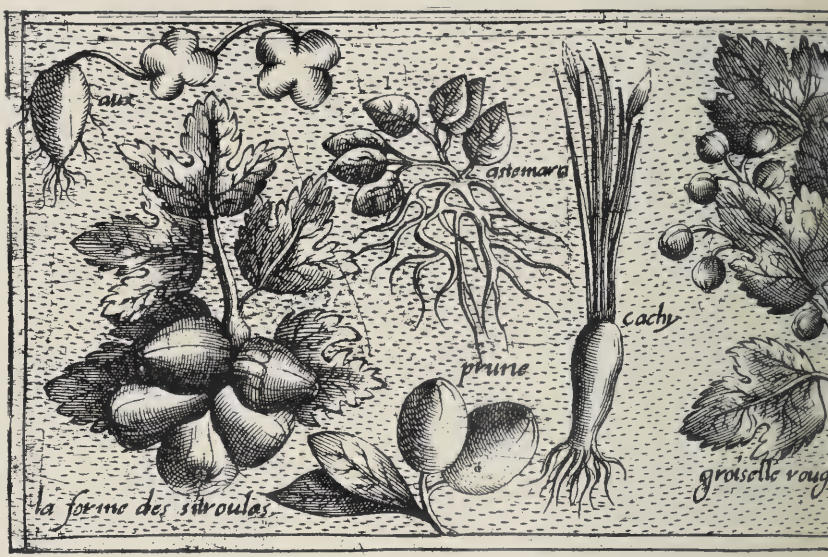
[3] This was John Oldome and his like. — BRADFORD. The words are written against the charges in the text, without their usual * to guide the reference. Oldham came in the *Anne* with a following that entitled him and his associates to ten shares in the division of lands in 1624. He was the most prominent of those who were "on their



CHAMPLAIN'S MAP OF



BEAU PORT (CAPE ANN)



FRUITS AND PLANTS OF N

NOTES BY MERRITT L. FERNA

Aux. Highly conventionalized. Presumably the Spring Beauty (*Claytonia caroliniana*) which has a short thick root of about this size, edible (when boiled resembling chestnut). The artist was apparently forced, for want of space, to omit the leaves, but the root and the peculiar lopping of the inflorescence suggest the Spring Beauty. It is frequent in bottomland woods or on rich slopes from Newfoundland to Virginia, though rare near the New England *Coast*, except from the Penobscot to the Piscataqua and locally in Rhode Island and Connecticut

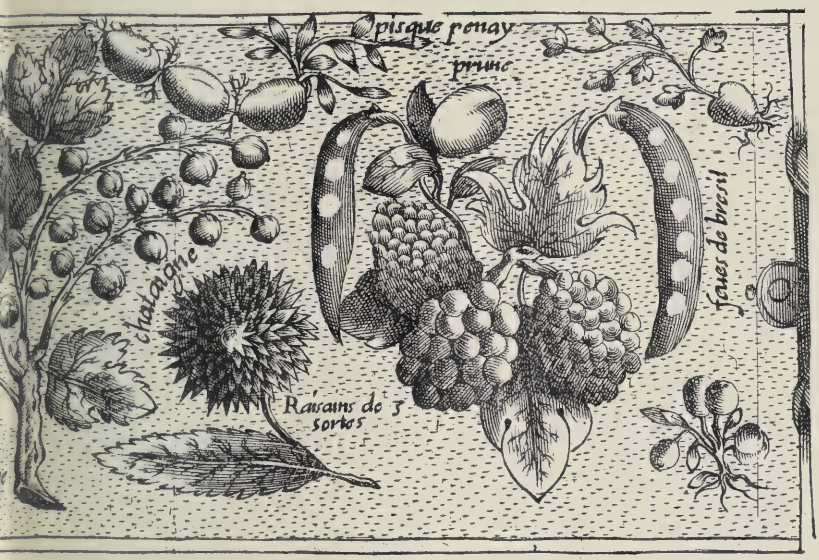
la forme des sitroules. Undoubtedly the squash cultivated by the Indians

prune. From the form of the fruit, the Canada Plum or Wild Plum (*Prunus nigra*), native of eastern Canada and the Northern States and cultivated by the Indians.

astemara. Possibly meant for the Tobacco (*Nicotiana rustica*) which was cultivated by the New England and other Indians. It is equally good as a drawing of one of the large-leaved woodland Asters (*Aster macrophyllus*, *A. Herveyi*, and their allies). The large leaves of these woodland Asters are used by the French of Canada as a substitute for tobacco. L'Abbé Provancher, in his "Flore Canadienne," says of *Aster macrophyllus:* "Ses feuilles desséchées sont quelquefois employées en guise de Tabac pour fumer."

Cach. Difficult to determine: drawing much conventionalized. Probably either one of the Wild Onions (*Allium Schœnoprasum*, which grows on river-banks from Newfoundland to Maine, or *Allium canadense*, found in meadows from southern Maine southward) or the Golden Club (*Orontium aquaticum*) which occurs in pond-margins and swamps from Cape Cod and Worcester County, Massachusetts, southward. The Golden Club was highly prized and often planted by the Indians both for its starchy root and its seeds

groiselle rouge. Clearly the Skunk Currant (*Ribes prostratum*) which abounds from Labrador to southern Maine and the hill-country of Massachusetts and Connecticut. Champlain specially commented on its abundance on the islands off Kennebunkport, where it still abounds.



EW ENGLAND (After Champlain)

LD, OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY

pisque penay. From the root this can be only the Ground Nut (*Apios tuberosa*) so much valued by the Indians for its starchy roots

chataigne The Chestnut (*Castanea dentata*), better identified by the French name than by the drawing.

Raisains de 3 sortes The three commonest Wild Grapes of New England. The smallest-fruited one is *Vitis vulpina*, the River-bank Grape, which occurs on nearly all our large rivers eastward to the St. John. The upper leaf and the medium-sized grapes belong to *Vitis æstivalis*, the Pigeon Grape, which occurs in thickets and open woods from southern New Hampshire southward. The largest fruit and the lowest leaf are of *Vitis Labrusca*, the large Fox Grape of our coastal region from the lower Kennebec southward.

fèves de brésil, the Brazilian Bean (*Phaseolus vulgaris*), which the early Europeans found cultivated all over tropical and temperate America.

—— Unnamed plant in upper right-hand corner, with heart-shaped root. Too much conventionalized for identification.

—— Little berry bearing plant in the lower right-hand corner. This is a fairly good representation of the Checkerberry (*Gaultheria procumbens*), which the early French in America used as a tea, and which was demonstrated by the French Canadian court physician Gaultier (Gaulthier, Gauthier, Gautier) before the French Academy as a tea of superior quality. Bibaud (Dict. Hist. 129) says of Dr. Gaultier: "Il découvrit le thé du Canada et demonstra à l'Académie des Sciences, la supériorité de notre capillaire [Maidenhair Fern, much used in mediæval medicine] sur le capillaire français. . . . Il paria en même temps de notre thé qu'il désigna comme un breuvage excellent, etc., etc. L'Académie fut si satisfaite du Mémoir, qu'elle voulut, que cette plante portât le nom de M. Gauthier, et qu'elle fût appellée *Gaultheria*."

THE PLANTERS PLEA.

OR

THE GROVNDS OF PLANTATIONS EXAMINED, And vſuall Objections anſwered.

Together with a manifeſtation of the cauſes mooving ſuch as have lately vndertaken a Plantation in NEVV-ENGLAND:

For the ſatisfaction of thoſe that queſtion the lawfulneſſe of the Action.

---

1 THES. 5. 21.
Prove all things, and holde faſt that which is good.

LONDON,
Printed by WILLIAM IONES.

contented men were hear againe, for it is a miserie when the whole state of a plantation shall be thus exposed to the passionate humors of some discontented men. And for my selfe I shall hinder for hearafter some that would goe, and have not better composed their affections; mean space it is all our crosses, and we must bear them.

I am sorie we have not sent you more and other things, but in truth we have rune into so much charge, to victaile the ship, provide salte and other fishing implements, etc. as we could not provid other comfortable things, as buter, suger, etc. I hope the returne of this ship, and the James, will put us in cash againe.[1] The Lord make you full of

particular," and almost from his first year became a disturbing factor in the settlement.

[1] A fishing voyage to the New England coast appears to have been of uncertain profit. The western country of England sent each year a number of such ventures, and it occurred to some in Dorchester that a better method would lead to better returns. "About the yeare 1623. some Westerne *Marchants* (who had continued a trade of fishing for Cod and bartering for Furres in those parts for divers yeares before) conceiving that a Colony planted on the Coast might further them in those employments, bethought themselves how they might bring that project to effect, and communicated their purpose to others, alledging the conveniency of compassing their proiect with a small charge, by the opportunitie of their fishing trade, in which they accustomed to double-man their Ships, that (by the helpe of many hands) they might despatch their Voyage, and lade their Ship with Fish while the fishing season lasted, which could not be done with a bare sayling company. Now it was conceived, that the fishing being ended, the spare men that were above their necessary saylers, might be left behind with provisions for a yeare; and when that Ship returned the next yeare, they might assist them in fishing, as they had done the former yeare; and, in the meane time, might employ themselves in building, and planting Corne, which with the provisions of Fish, Foule, and Venison, that the Land yeelded, would affoord them the chiefe of their foode. This Proposition of theirs tooke so well, that it drew on divers persons, to joyne with them in this project, the rather because it was conceived that not onely their owne Fishermen, but the rest of our Nation that went thither on the same errand, might be much advantaged, not onely by fresh victuall, which that Colony might spare them in time, but withall, and more, by the benefit of their Ministers labours, which they might enjoy during the fishing season; whereas otherwise being usually upon those Voyages nine or ten moneths in the yeare, they were left all the while without any meanes of instruction at all. Compassion towards the Fishermen, and partly some expectation of gaine, prevailed so farre that for the planting of a colony in *New-England* there was raised a Stocke of more then three thousand pounds, intended to be payd

courage in this troublesome bussines, which now must be stuck unto, till God give us rest from our labours. Fare well in all harty affection.

Your assured freind,

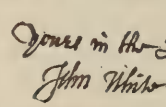
Jan: 24. 1623[–24]. R[OBART] C[USHMAN.]

in in fiue yeares, but afterwards disbursed in a shorter time." White, *The Planters Plea*, *68. This was the Dorchester Company, and the colonizing venture was made at Cape Ann. See p. 374, *infra*. In *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, LXI. 278, is a list of those who adventured in this company, and a paper relating to a suit growing out of this adventure will be found in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, XLIII. 493.

Smith's practical sense had recognized the advantages of combining a scheme of making a settlement with a fishing venture. The ships sent to Newfoundland were double-manned, to get the freight on board speedily. "But one third part of that companie are onely but proper to serue a stage, carry a barrow, and turne Poor Iohn [salted or dried hake]: notwithstanding, they must haue meate, drinke, clothes, and passage, as well as the rest. Now all I desire, is but this: That those that voluntarily will send shipping, should make here the best choise they can, or accept such as are presented them, to serue them at that rate: and their ships returning leaue such with me, with the value of that they should receiue comming home, in such prouisions and necessarie tooles, armes, bedding and apparell, salt, hookes, nets, lines, and such like as they spare of the remainings; who till the next returne may keepe their boates and doe them many other profitable offices: prouided I haue men of ability to teach them their functions." *Description of New England*, *36. This outlines the policy intended by such experiments as Weston's fishing voyages.

It is probable that Winslow was responsible for the suggestion. In writing of the fisheries he says, "Witness the west-country merchants of England, which return incredible gains yearly from thence. And if they can so do, which here buy their salt at a great charge, and transport more company to make their voyage then will sail their ships, what may the planters expect when once they are seated, and make the most of their salt there, and employ themselves at least eight months in fishing; whereas the other fish but four, and have their ships lie dead in the harbour all the time, whereas such shipping as belong to plantations may take freight of passengers or cattle thither, and have their lading provided against they come." *Good Newes from New England*, *64.

The experience of the Dorchester Company was conclusive, and White sets forth the causes of the failure with this summary: "The very proiect it selfe of planting by the helpe of a fishing Voyage, can never answer the successe that it seemes to promise (which experienced Fishermen easily have foreseene before hand, and by that meanes haue preuented divers ensuing errors) whereof amongst divers other reasons these may serue for two. First that no sure fishing place in the Land is



With the former letter write by Mr. Sherley, there were sente sundrie objections concerning which he thus writeth. "These are the cheefe objections which they [112] that are now returned make against you and the countrie. I pray you consider them, and answer them by the first conveniencie." [1] These objections were made by some of those that came over on their perticuler and were returned home, as is before mentioned, and were of the same suite with those that this other letter mentions.[2]

I shall here set them downe, with the answers then made unto them, and sent over at the returne of this ship; which did so confound the objectors, as some confessed their falte, and others deneyed what they had said, and eate their words, and some others of them have since come over againe and heere lived to convince them selves sufficiently, both in their owne and other mens judgments.

1. obj. was diversitie aboute Religion. Ans: We know no shuch matter, for here was never any controversie or opposition, either publicke or private, (to our knowledg,) since we came.

2. ob: Neglecte of familie duties, one the Lords day.[3]

fit for planting, nor any good place for planting found fit for fishing, at least neere the Shoare. And secondly, rarely any Fisher-men will worke at Land, neither are Husband-men fit for Fisher-men but with long vse and experience." *The Planters Plea*, *74.

The first ship to be sent out by the Dorchester Company was the *Charity*, which brought Winslow and his Cape Ann patent to Plymouth. Smith's *Generall Historie*, entered on the Stationers Register July 12, 1624 (p. 247), mentions a "Plantation a beginning by the Dorchester men, which they hold of those of New-Plimouth, who also by them haue set vp a fishing worke." This refers to the adventure which had left in March, and to the employment of the Dorchester Company's capital in the fishing plan outlined on p. 374, *infra*. The *Charity* is described by White as a "small ship of fiftie tunnes." The vessel of the same name sent out by Weston in 1622 was double the size.

[1] Bradford does not use the quotation marks, which are inserted to make the sentence clear.

[2] See p. 331, *supra*.

[3] The King, at this time, upon the prorogation of Parliament in May criticised

Ans. We allow no such thing, but blame it in our selves and others; and they that thus reporte it, should have shewed their Christian love the more if they had in love tould the offenders of it, rather then thus to reproach them behind their baks. But (to say no more) we wish them selves had given better example.

3. ob: Wante of both the sacrements.[1]

Ans. The more is our greefe, that our pastor is kept from us, by whom we might injoye them; for we used to have the Lords Supper every Saboth, and baptisme as often as ther was occasion of children to baptise.

4. ob: Children not catechised nor taught to read.

Ans: Neither is true; for diverse take pains with their owne as they can; indeede, we have no commone schoole for want of a fitt person, or hithertoo means to maintaine one; though we desire now to begine.

5. ob: Many of the perticuler members of the plantation will not work for the generall.

Ans: This allso is not wholy true; for though some doe it not willingly, and other not honestly, yet all doe it; and he that doth worst gets his owne foode and something besides. But we will not excuse them, but labour to reforme them the best we cane, or else to quitte the plantation of them.

6. ob: The water is not wholsome.[2]

Ans: If they mean, not so wholsome as the good beere and wine

some bills presented for his consent. "He made merry over one, for 'the better observance of the Sabbath,' as allowing 'no recreation to the poor men that labour hard all the week long, to ease themselves on the Sunday.'" Gardiner, *History of England*, v. 234.

[1] See p. 371, *infra*.

[2] Wood described the waters of New England as "farre different from the waters of *England*, being not so sharpe, but of a fatter substance, and of a more jettie colour; it is thought there can be no better water in the world, yet dare I not preferre it before a good Beere, as some have done, but any man will choose it before bad Beere, Wheay, or Buttermilke. Those that drinke it be as healthfull, fresh and lustie, as they that drinke beere." *New Englands Prospect*, *12.

in London,[1] (which they so dearly love,) we will not dispute with them; but els, for water, it is as good as any in the world, (for ought we knowe,) and it is wholsome enough to us that can be contente therwith.

7. ob: The ground is barren and doth bear no grasse [113].

Ans: It is hear (as in all places) some better and some worse; and if they well consider their woods, in England they shall not find shuch grasse in them, as in their feelds and meadows. The catle find grasse, for they are as fatt as need be; we wish we had but one for every hundred that here is grase to keep.[2] Indeed, this objection, as some other, are ridiculous to all here which see and know the contrary.

8. ob: The fish will not take salt to keepe sweete.

Ans: This is as true as that which was written, that ther is scarce a foule to be seene or a fish to be taken. Things likly to be true in a cuntrie wher so many sayle of ships come yearly a fishing; they might as well say, there can no aile or beere in London be kept from sowering.

9. ob: Many of them are theevish and steale on from an other.

Ans: Would London had been free from that crime,[3] then we

[1] "In the time of Henry the Eight, and Edward the Sixt, Vinteners and Taverners houses were not in any such measure, maner, nor plenteous store and variety of wines of all Nations in any one man's house, as now at this time [*c.* 1617] there is in every Vintener's house; for in those days whosoever drew White, Claret, and red Wine, sold no more kindes of Wine; the Dutch then sold only Reinish wine, as now they doe; and at that time, when an Argosey came with Greeke and Spanish Wines, viz. Muscadell, Malmsey, Sacke, and Bassard, the Apothecaries of London then went unto those merchants, and every man bought such Rundlets, vessels, and quantities of those rich wines, as they thought they should Retayle, unto such as usually bought of them only for Physicke and for the Communion Table." *Annales*, 867, ed. 1631. Kingsford, from whom this extract is taken, believes the matter was derived by Howes from Stow's Collections. *Survey of London*, II. 323.

[2] See vol. II. p. 11. Also Wood, *New Englands Prospect*, *9.

[3] London was so infested by thieves that walking in the streets after dark involved great risk, and even the houses were subject to forcible entry. As in a later period, 1685, the "machinery for keeping the peace was utterly contemptible," and thieves



¶ By the King.



¶ A Proclamation for ſuppreſſing inſolent abuſes committed by baſe people againſt perſons of qualitie, aſwell Strangers as others, in the Streetes of the Citie and Suburbes of London, with the parts adiacent.

AS We haue euer eſteemed it a happineſſe to meete with any occaſion, that might iuſtly moue Us to take notice of the carefull and diſcreete Gouernment of ſuch as were truſted in high places of Authoritie and Magiſtracie vnder Us; In which cales (as the World can well beare Us witneſſe) wee haue euer been ready to expreſſe the gladneſſe of Our heart, by Our gracious thankfulnes vnto them in one kinde or other: So on the other ſide, doe wee hold it as necellary a duety belonging vnto Us, to whom God hath committed the chiefe and ſoueraigne care of all, not onely ſharpely to reprooue where we find ſupine and vnexcuſable negligence, but when through improuidence, and weakneſſe of Gouernment, the miſchiefe growes ſtrong and pernicious, to take the Reformation into our owne ſupreame power, vnleſſe otherwiſe wee find a ſpeedy amendment. Our Citie of London, the Prime and chiefe Citie of all others within Our Realmes and Dominions, the place that wee, and Our Predeceſſors in this Kingdome, haue alwayes thought worthieſt to be honoured with the Reſidence of our Perſons, and of Our ſupreame Courts of Iuſtice, and which Our ſelfe in particular haue euer ſince Our comming vnto the Crowne, fauoured and cheriſhed by all the meanes wee might, to teſtifie Our Princely and extraordinary affection towards them, whereof wee

should not have been trobled with these here; it is well knowne sundrie have smarted well for it,[1] and so are the rest like to doe, if they be taken.

10. ob: The countrie is anoyed with foxes and woules.[2]

Ans: So are many other good cuntries too; but poyson, traps, and other shuch means will help to destroy them.

11. ob: The Dutch are planted nere Hudsons Bay,[3] and are likely to over throw the trade.

Ans: They will come and plante in these parts, also, if we and others doe not, but goe home and leave it to them. We rather commend them, then condemne them for it.

12. ob: The people are much anoyed with muskeetoes,[4]

and robbers plied their trade with impunity. Macaulay, *History of England* (ed. 1879), I. 282.

[1] Whipping was never inflicted in England on persons of the better class, and the nobility were legally exempt from corporal punishment.

[2] By an "ancient order" two pence were allowed for every wolf killed in the colony, "for the incouragement of persons to seeke the destruction of those ravenous creatures." But in 1633 it was noticed that none purposely hunted the animals, "but accidentally light on them, and so unworthily receive the benefit." The bounty was abolished, except where the Governor and Council should recognize the setting of traps or other engines. This left the subject in so unsatisfactory a condition that in 1634 five bushels of corn, to be levied on the people, were offered for the killing of one or more wolves. The pest and danger continued unabated, for in 1641 directions were given to each town to make, bait and look daily after wolf traps, under penalty; and after 1651 the Indians were called in to assist, each Indian to receive a coat of trading cloth for every wolf. The high value thus offered proves the importance attached to the destruction of the animals. From 1634, the bounty ranged in value from fifteen to thirty shillings. *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, I. 22, 31; XI. 38, 58. Wood, *New Englands Prospect*, speaks of the ravages of the wolves, *17, 18, 20, 38, but denies that they ever attacked man.

[3] This complaint about the Dutch may point to the source of these criticisms — the Gorges following, who were intent upon the profits to be had from the fur trade. Hudson River is meant.

[4] Charles Lodwick, writing in 1692, speaks of "a mischievous insect called a musqueta, or small little fly, which extreamly vexes the cattle, and is often observed to make them grow lean, hindering their feeding." *New York Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ser. 2. II. 245. See Wood, *New Englands Prospect*, *40.

Ans: They are too delicate and unfitte to begine new-plantations and collonies, that cannot enduer the biting of a muskeeto; we would wish shuch to keepe at home till at least they be muskeeto proofe. Yet this place is as free as any, and experience teacheth that the more the land is tild, and the woods cut downe, the fewer ther will be, and in the end scarse any at all.

Having thus dispatcht these things, that I may handle things togeather, I shall here inserte ·2· other letters from Mr. Robinson their pastor; the one to the Gov[erno]r, the other to Mr. Brewster their Elder, which will give much light to the former things, and express the tender love and care of a true pastor over them.

His leter to the Gov[erno]r.

My loving and much beloved freind, whom God hath hithertoo preserved, preserve and keepe you still to his glorie, and the good of many; that his blessing may make your godly and wise endea[v]ours answerable to the valuation which they ther have, and set upon the same. Of your love too and care for us here, we never doubted; so are we glad to take knowledg of it in that fullnes we doe. Our love and care too and for you, is mutuall, though our hopes of coming [114] unto you be small, and weaker then ever. But of this at large in Mr. Brewsters letter, with whom you, and he with you, mutualy, I know, comunicate your letters, as I desire you may doe these, etc.

Concerning the killing of those poor Indeans, of which we heard at first by reporte, and since by more certaine relation, oh! how happy a thing had it been, if you had converted some, before you had killed any;[1] besides, wher bloud is onc[e] begune to be shed, it is seldome stanched of a long time after. You will say they deserved it. I grant it;

[1] After fifty years of English occupation and endeavor Hubbard bore testimony to the small results in christianizing the natives. "As for our religion, some, yet a few of them, have seemed seriously to embrace it; but until they be reduced to more civility some judicious persons have conceived no great harvest is to be expected of real converts, which, for the future, must be left to the observation of them that come after, there being little progress made that way for the present, notwithstanding that many endeavors have been made in that kind." *History*, 29.

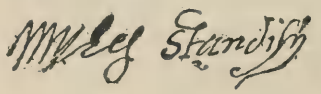
but upon what provocations and invitments by those heathenish Christians?[1] Besides, you, being no magistrates over them, were to consider, not what they deserved, but what you were by necessitie constrained to inflicte. Necessitie of this, espetially of killing so many, (and many more, it seems, they would, if they could,) I see not.[2] Me thinks on or tow principals should have been full enough, according to that approved rule, The punishmente to a few, and the fear to many.[3] Upon this occasion let me be bould to exhorte you seriou[s]ly to consider of the dispossition of your Captaine, whom I love, and am perswaded the Lord in great mercie and for much good hath sent you him, if you use him aright. He is a man humble and meek amongst you, and towards all in ordinarie course.[4] But now if this be meerly from an hu-

[1] Mr. Westons men. — BRADFORD.

[2] Winslow expressed the general opinion in saying that "this business was no less troublesome than grievous, and the more, because it is so ordinary in these times for men to measure things by the events thereof; but especially for that we knew no means to deliver our countrymen and preserve ourselves, than by returning their malicious and cruel purposes upon their own heads, and causing them to fall into the same pit they had digged for others; though it much grieved us to shed the blood of those whose good we ever intended and aimed at, as a principal in all our proceedings." *Good Newes*, *37.

[3] Robinson used almost the same words in his *Just and Necessary Apology* (1619), in speaking of public rebukes to wrongdoers in the church, "that when the punishment comes to one, the fear might reach unto many, which yet wise men in all public executions would have carefully provided for." *Works*, III. 32.

[4] Standish was born in Lancashire, and claimed to be a cadet of the house of Standish of Standish, from which certain lands had been given "to me as right heir by lawful descent, but surreptitiously detained from me; my great-grandfather being a second or younger brother from the house of Standish of Standish." This house held lands in Duxbury, England, a town of the parish of Standish, and close to Wigan. He had, when young, gone to Holland, but never became connected with the Leyden congregation, and probably served in the army of the Provinces, thus acquiring an experience which proved highly useful at New Plymouth. His first wife, Rose, who accompanied him on the *Mayflower*, died January 29, 1620–21, soon after landing. His second wife, Barbara, was a passenger in the *Anne*, and survived him. He died October 3, 1656, leaving four sons and one daughter. His will and inventory are printed in *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, v. 335.



The "general" had also made some criticism on Standish, for Bradford, in his letter

mane spirite, ther is cause to fear that by occasion, espetially of provocation, ther may be wanting that tendernes of the life of man (made after Gods image) which is meete. It is also a thing more glorious in mens eyes, then pleasing in Gods, or conveniente for Christians, to be a terrour to poore barbarous people; and indeed I am afraid least, by these occasions, others should be drawne to affecte a kind of rufling course in the world. I doubt not but you will take in good part these things which I write, and as ther is cause make use of them. It were to us more comfortable and convenient, that we comunicated our mutuall helps in presence, but seeing that canot be done, we shall always long after you, and love you, and waite Gods apoynted time. The adventurers it seems have neither money nor any great mind of us, for the most parte. They deney it to be any part of the covenants betwixte us, that they should transporte us, neither doe I looke for any further help from them, till means come from you.[1] We hear are strangers in effecte to the whole course, and so both we and you (save as your owne wisdoms and worths have intressed you further) of principals intended in this bussines, are scarce accessaries, etc. My wife, with me, resalutes you and yours. Unto him who is the same to his in all places, and nere to them which are farr from one an other, I comend you and all with you, resting,

Yours truly loving,
JOHN ROBINSON.

Leyden, Des: 19. 1623.

His to Mr. Brewster.

LOVING AND DEAR FREIND AND BROTHER: That which I most desired of God in regard of you, namly, the continuance of your life and

of September 8, 1623, says: "As for capten Standish we leave him to answare for him selfe; but this we must say, he is as helpfull an instrument as any we have, and as carefull of the generall good, and doth not well aprove him selfe." Lyford's criticism of him will be found on p. 394, *infra.*

[1] Sherley, who had adventured deeply in the plantation claimed to have aroused the malice of his partners against him because "I would not side with them against you and the going over of the Leyden [company?]" To *Bradford*, December 27, 1627. *Bradford Letter Book.*

health, and the safe coming of these sent unto you, that I most gladly hear of, and praise God for the same. And I hope Mrs. Brewsters weake and decayed state of body,[1] will have some reparing by the coming of her daughters, and the provissions in this and former ships, I hear is made for you; which makes us with more patience bear our languishing state, and the deferring of our desired transportation; which I call desired, rather than hoped for, whatsoever you are borne in hand by any others. For first, ther is no hope at all, that I know, or can conceive of, of any new stock to be raised for that end; so that all must depend [115] upon returns from you, in which are so many uncertainties, as that nothing with any certaintie can thence be concluded. Besides, howsoever for the presente the adventurers aledg nothing but want of money, which is an invincible difculty, yet if that be taken away by you, others without doubte will be found. For the beter clearing of this, we must dispose the adventurers into ·3· parts; and of them some ·5· or ·6· (as I conceive) are absolutly bent for us, above any others. Other ·5· or ·6· are our bitter profesed adversaries.[2] The rest, being the body, I conceive to be honestly minded, and loveingly also towards us; yet shuch as have others (namly the forward preachers) nerer unto them, then us, and whose course so farr as ther is any difference, they would rather advance then ours. Now what a hanck[3] these men have over the professors, you know. And I perswade my selfe, that for me, they of all others are unwilling I should be transported, espetially shuch of them as have an eye that way them selves; as thinking if I come ther, ther market will be mard in many regards. And for these adversaries, if they have but halfe the witte to their malice, they will stope my course when they see it intended, for which this delaying serveth them very opportunly.[4] And

[1] Mrs. Brewster died before 1627. Her daughters were Fear, who married, in 1626, Isaac Allerton, and Patience, who married, in 1624, Thomas Prence.

[2] The faction in the Company which supported Lyford was opposed to the coming of Robinson to New England. It drew its later inspiration from Lyford himself, whose ideas of what was necessary extended to the substitution of persons for Captain Peirce, Captain Standish and for Winslow in the office of merchant. P. 393, *infra*.

[3] Hanck means a restraining or curbing hold, a power of check or restraint. *New English Dictionary*.

[4] "Alas! you would fain have had him with you, and he would as fain have come

as one restie jade can hinder, by hanging back, more then two or ·3· can (or will at least, if they be not very free) draw forward, so will it be in this case. A notab[l]e experimente of this, they gave in your messengers presence, constraining the company to promise that none of the money now gathered should be expended or imployed to the help of any of us towards you.[1] Now touching the question propounded by you, I judg it not lawfull for you, being a ruling Elder, as Rom. 12. 7. 8. and 1. Tim. 5. 17. opposed to the Elders that teach and exhorte and labore in the word and doctrine, to which the sacrements are annexed, to administer them, nor convenient if it were lawfull.[2] Whether any larned man will come unto you or not, I know not;[3] if any doe, you must *Consilium capere in arena.* Be you mostly hartily saluted, and your wife with you, both from me and mine. Your God and ours, and

to you; many letters and much speech hath been about his coming to you, but never any solid course propounded for his going; if the course propounded the last year had appeared to have been certain, he would have gone through with two or three families. I know no man amongst us knew his mind better than I did, about those things; he was loath to leave the church, yet I know also, that he would have accepted the worst conditions which in the largest extent of a good conscience could be taken, to have come to you." *Thomas Blossom to Bradford and Brewster*, December 15, 1625. *Bradford Letter Book.*

[1] "By the above written letter it may appear how much the adversary hindered the coming of this blessed servant of Christ into New England, although he so much longed to be with his flock, and his flock with him; a worthy pattern unto all churches and their ministers to be imitated." Note by Morton in Records of Plymouth church.

[2] "On an office, let us wait on the office: or he that teacheth, on teaching: or he that exhorteth, on exhortation: he that distribueth, let him doe it with simplicitie: he that ruleth, with diligence: he that sheweth mercy, with cheerefulnesse." *Romans.*

"The Elders that rule well, let them be had in double honour, specially they which labour in the word and doctrine." *Timothy.*

In the plan of church government as practised by Robinson, the governing Elder was "to rule with diligence," and the Elders "being public officers, are to exercise the solemn works of their office; and particularly the work of rebuking them that sin openly and before the church, both that others may fear, and the church of faith, consent to the excommunication; and, therefore cannot represent the church, it being actually present." *Works*, III. 429, 435. The Elder must be "apt to teach," and "able to exhort with sound doctrine, and convince gainsayers," not only privately but in the public assembly also.

[3] See note on p. 134, *supra.*

the God of all his, bring us together if it be his will, and keep us in the mean while, and all ways to his glory, and make us servisable to his majestie, and faithfull to the end. Amen.

Your very loving brother,

JOHN ROBINSON.

Leyden, Des: 20. 1623.

These things premised, I shall now prosecute the procedings and afairs here. And before I come to other things I must speak a word of their planting this year; they having found the benifite of their last years harvest, and setting corne for their particuler, having therby with a great deale of patience overcome hunger and famine. Which makes me remember a saing of Senecas, *Epis:* 123. *That a great parte of libertie is a well governed belly, and to be patiente in all wants.* They begane now highly to prise corne as more pretious then silver, and those that had some to spare begane to trade one with another for smale things, by the quarte, potle,[1] and peck, etc.; for money they had none, and if any had, corne was prefered before it. That they might therfore encrease their tillage to better advantage, they made suite [116] to the Gov[erno]r to have some portion of land given them for continuance, and not by yearly lotte, for by that means, that which the more industrious had brought into good culture (by much pains) one year, came to leave it the nexte, and often another might injoye it; so as the dressing of their lands were the more sleighted over, and to lese profite. Which being well considered, their request was granted. And to every person was given only one acrre of land, to them and theirs, as nere the towne as might be, and they had no more till the ·7· years were expired. The reason was, that they might be kept close together, both for more saftie and defence, and the better improvement of the generall

[1] The pottle, now an obsolete measure for liquids or corn, contained two quarts, or half a gallon.

imployments.[1] Which condition of theirs did make me often thinke, of what I had read in Plinie[2] of the Romans first beginings in Romulus time. *How every man contented him selfe with ·2· acres of land, and had no more assigned them. And chap. ·3· It was thought a great reward, to receive at the hands of the people of Rome a pinte of corne. And long after, the greatest presente given to a Captaine that had gotte a victory over their enemise, was as much ground as they could till in one day. And he was not counted a good, but a dangerous man, that would not contente him selfe with ·7· Acres of land. As also how they did pound their corne in morters, as these people were forcte to doe many years before they could get a mille.*[3]

[1] The crop raised in 1623 proved a disappointment, because of the drought, and caused a higher price for the grain gathered. This was one of the reasons for the demand on the part of the planters for a more permanent tenure of their plots, and the grant of a single acre for each head of population constituted a further stage in the development from the community system of cultivation to full private ownership of the land. The list of "falls of land" now assigned will be found at the end of the previous chapter (p. 346, *supra*). It is taken from *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, XII. 4, and accounts for ninety-seven acres; but as four men and one woman have no quantity allotted to them, the original intention may have been to place one hundred acres under this method of cultivation. It will be recalled that in the spring of 1622 about sixty acres were reported to be "well planted with corne besides their gardens well replenished with useful fruits." Smith, *Generall Historie* (p. 275, *supra*). The arrangement now made proved effective until the increase in population, the profits on grain, and the exhaustion in the fertility of these one acre lots, led to a radical departure, which is described under the year 1632, vol. II. p. 151, *infra*.

[2] Plin: lib: 18. chap. 2. — BRADFORD.

[3] Though underlined, the reference is to those of New Plymouth.

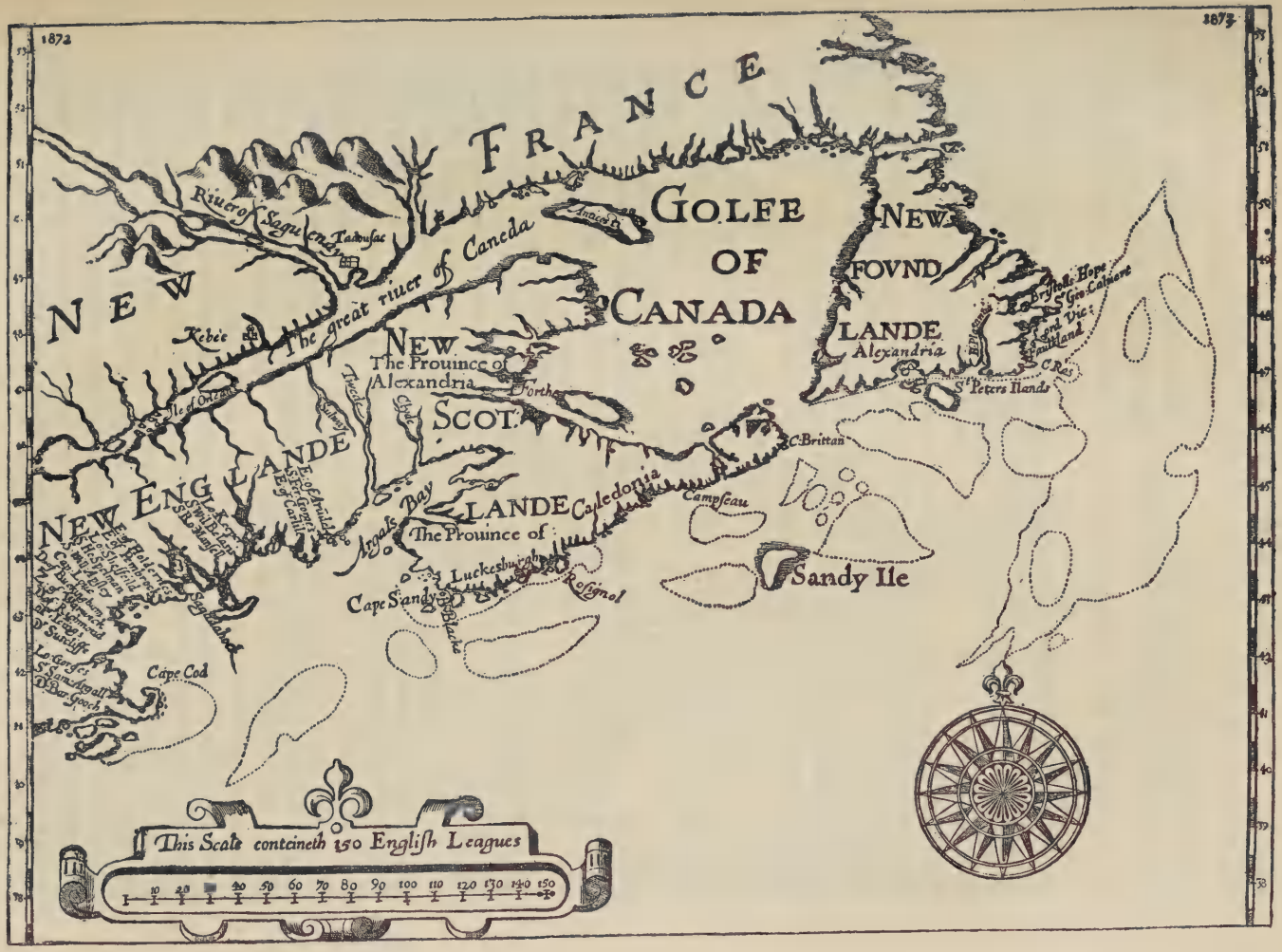
Apparently the first mill was established in 1633. In January of that year, "Stephen Deane, desiring to set up a water worke, to beate corne uppon the brooke adjoyning to the towne of Plymouth, for the benefit of the common wealth, was referred to the Governor and Councell for answer, who agreed with him upon these following termes: That, provided the place he made choyce of were no hinderance to a grinding mill intended heereafter, he might bring his worke neere the towne. 2. That hee should receiue one pottle out of every bushell for toll, and no more. 3. That in case the said Stephen can beate all the corne that is or shall be used in the colony, it shall not be lawfull for any other to set up a worke of that kinde, except it be for his owne use, or freely, without toll or any other consideracõn whatsoever, to giue leaue to others to

The ship which brought this supply, was speedily discharged,[1] and with her m[aste]r and company sente to Cap-Anne (of which place they had gott a patente, as before is shewed) on fishing, and because the season was so farr spente some of the planters were sent to help to built their stage, to their owne hinderance.[2] But

make use of the same." Deane accepted the terms, and promised to build in the summer such a mill as would serve the whole colony. *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, I. 8. One year later his privileges were enlarged, and again on the condition that he would "surrender up his worke and that right and claime he challengeth for the beating of corne, whensoever a grinding mill shall be sett up at the order and appointment of the Governour and Councell of Assistants." Deane died in September, 1634, and so could hardly have made much advance towards using his monopoly, and in July, 1635, the Court agreed that it was "needfull" to build a mill, appointed four freemen to collect the money, agree with workmen, and order all other things for its construction. *Ib.* 22, 35. Either money was wanting or some obstacle was encountered, for in March, 1636–37, it was "concluded vpon by the Court that Mr. John Jenney shall haue liberty to erect a Milne for grinding and beating of Corne vpon the brooke of Plymouth to be to him and his heires for euer," and his tolls were determined. *Ib.* XI. 26. Jenney had just been punished for trading in corn with the Indians. If it was the intention to erect a monopoly, the scheme proved futile. In 1637 a mill existed at Scituate, and in the following year the records speak of "diuers other Milnes within this Collony who are allowed competent toule for grinding and do not grind Corn as they ought to doe." Regulations in subsequent years sought to oblige millers to have honest measures and reasonable tolls. *Ib.* XI. 30, 116.

[1] This vessel was the first venture of the Dorchester Company (p. 360, *supra*), and proved a costly bargain, as upwards of £300 were expended upon her in a "new sute of sayles and other provisions to furnish her." Nor was the result calculated to inspire confidence in the adventure. "Now by reason the Voyage was vndertaken too late; she came at least a moneth or six weekes later then the rest of the Fishing-Shippes, that went for that Coast; and by that meanes wanting Fish to make up her lading, the Master thought good to passe into *Mattachusets* bay, to try whether that would yeeld him any, which he performed, and speeding there, better then he had reason to expect: having left his spare men behind him in the Country at *Cape Ann*, he returned to a late and consequently a bad market in *Spaine*, and so home." Fourteen men were left at Cape Ann, and the loss on the voyage to the Company was no less than six hundred pounds. The vessel remained to them. White, *The Planters Plea*, *70.

[2] The Council for New England had not derived the expected profits from their patent and grants, and faced the amendment of that patent by the Privy Council. Better to be prepared to take advantage of what the new letters patent might grant,


1872
1873
FRANCE
NEW
Riuer of Sagu en Tadouſac
The great riuer of Caneda
Kebec
Ile of Orleans
GOLFE
OF
CANADA
NEW
FOVND
LANDE
Alexandria
Bryſtoll Hope
S.t Geo. Calcere
Cape Vic.
Heathland
C. Ras
S.t Peters Hands
NEW
The Prouince of
Alexandria
Forth
Clyde
Tweed
Galloway
SCOT.
C. Britan
NEW ENGLANDE
Caledonia
Campſeau
Argals Bay
LANDE
The Prouince of
Sandy Ile
Cape Sandy
Roſeignol
Cape Cod
This Scale containeth 150 English Leagues
10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120 130 140 150

partly by the latenes of the year, and more espetialy by the basnes of the m[aste]r, one Baker, they made a poore viage of it. He proved a very drunken beast, and did nothing (in a maner) but

the Company determined to exclude from any benefits all those who had not paid their adventure of £110 in full, and to admit others who would be willing to pay that subscription, "provided that they soe to come in, bee persons of Hon[ou]r or Gentlemen of blood, except only six Merchants to be admitted by us for the service and speciall Imployments of the said Councell in the Course of trade and Commerce." This resolution passed in August, 1622, and had for its object purging the body of all who had failed to fulfil their subscriptions and to raise new capital for the needs of the Company. The royal proclamation against unregulated trade with New England gave an apparent monopoly to the Council, to be used by its own vessels and to be a source of revenue from the sale of licences to other ships. In February, 1622–23, one more step was taken towards realizing advantage from the royal favor. Sir Henry Spelman, whose knowledge of the law proved very serviceable to the Council, moved that "from henceforth such Patents as are to be granted, shall only pass to one partner, and others to come in under that and not otherwise." But the feudal idea of tenure suggested itself to the two most active members of the Council — Gorges and Spelman. At two meetings held in March, they alone being present, this idea assumed concrete shape, although it was in conflict with laws then in force in England. "Notwithstanding the Statute of 18 H. 3 [quia emptores terrarum], either according to the Lawes of England, or the Feodall Lawes, or any other Lawes." A division of the New England territory among the actual members of the Council was now determined upon. Two parts of the whole territory were to be divided among the patentees, "into several counties, to be by themselves or their friends planted at their pleasure or best commodity," and the other third part was to be reserved for public uses. The unpractical details of manors, lordships and tenures need not be noticed in this place. The division was announced in Gorges, *Briefe Relation*,*31, printed in the fall of 1622. One year later, June 29, 1623, Sir Ferdinando, who dearly loved pomp and circumstance, saw the lots drawn in the presence of the King. A map of all the coasts and lands of New England was presented to James, with twenty divisions marked upon it, each division containing two shares. "And twenty lotts conteyning the said double shares made upp in little bales of waxe. And the names of twenty Pattentees by whom these lotts were to be drawne. And for that the Lord Duke of Buckingham was then absent, his Majestie was gratiously pleased to drawe the first lott in his Graces behalf." The full list of names will be found in *Records of the Council for New England*, 96[4]. The first lot, that of Gooch, was entered to the west of Cape Cod, and each succeeding lot followed in order. In this easy way was the coast of New England ceded, and the settlers of New Plymouth were involved, their neighbors or landlords being shown on the map, which is reproduced from Purchas, IV. 1872.

drink, and gusle, and consume away the time and his victails; and most of his company followed his example; and though Mr. William Peirce was to over see the busines, and to be m[aste]r of the ship home, yet he could doe no good amongst them, so as the loss was great, and would have bene more to them, but that they kept one a trading ther, which in those times got some store of skins, which was some help unto them.

The ship-carpenter that was sent them, was an honest and very industrious man, and followed his labour very dilligently, and made all that were imployed with him doe the like; he quickly builte them ·2· very good and strong shalops (which after did them greate service), and a great and strong lighter, and had hewne timber for ·2· catches; [1] but that was lost, for he fell into a feaver in the

Patents must have passed under this division; for Winslow in December, 1623, wished to secure for the planters of New Plymouth a grant of a part of Cape Ann. He applied to Edmund, Lord Sheffield, to whom that tract of land had fallen, and on January 1, 1623–24, he received from Sheffield, a patent, "for themselves and theire Associates and Planters at Plymouth in New England in America" granting "a certain Tract of Ground in New England aforesaid lying in Forty-three Degrees or thereabout of Northerly latitude and in a knowne place there comonly called Cape Anne," with the adjacent islands and hunting and fishing privileges, and land for each new comer within seven years after the date of the instrument, to be held at an annual quit-rent. The patent, in facsimile, is in this volume, and in John Wingate Thornton, *The Landing at Cape Ann.* The text is printed at the end of this chapter.

No lot was drawn for Captain John Smith, "but Smiths Isles, which are a many of barren rocks, the most overgrowne with such shrubs and sharp whins you can hardly passe them; without either grasse or wood, but three or foure short shrubby old Cedars." *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters*, *22.

[1] "Boats with all their furniture, as sayles, hookes and lines, and other appendences, afford the painefull planter both varietie of comfort, and a sufficient competent, and an happie estate. . . . Plantations cannot possibly, profitably subsist without chattels and boats, which are the onely meanes for surveying and conveying both our persons and provisions to the well advised scituation. Without these, plantations may with much patience, and well fortified resolution indure but difficultly, though with much time flourish and contentedly subsist. For when men are landed vpon an vnknowne shore, peradventure weake in number and naturall powers, for want of boats and carriages; are compelled to stay where they are first landed, having no meanes to remoue themselues or their goods, be the place never so fruitlesse or in-

hote season of the year, and though he had the best means the place could aforde, yet he dyed; of whom they had a very [117] great loss, and were very sorie for his death.[1] But he whom they sent to make salte was an ignorante, foolish, self-willd fellow; he bore them in hand he could doe great matters in making salt-works, so he was sente to seeke out fitte ground for his purpose; and after some serch he tould the Gov[erno]r that he had found a sufficente place, with a good botome to hold water, and otherwise very conveniente, which he doubted not but in a short time to bring to good perfection, and to yeeld them great profite; but he must have ·8· or ten men to be constantly imployed. He was wisht to be sure that the ground was good, and other things answerable, and that he could bring it to perfection; otherwise he would bring upon them a great charge by imploying him selfe and so many men. But he was, after some triall, so confidente, as he caused them to send carpenters to rear a great frame for a large house, to receive the salte and such other uses. But in the end all proved vaine. Then he layed fault of the ground, in which he was deceived; but if he might have the lighter to cary clay, he was sure then he could doe it. Now though the Gov[erno]r and some other foresaw that this would come to litle, yet they had so many malignant spirits amongst them, that would have laid it upon them, in their letters of complainte to the adventurers, as to be their falte that

convenient for planting, building houses, boats, or stages, or the harbours never so vnfit for fishing, fowling, or mooring their boats." Morrell, *New England*, at end. See p. 229, *supra*. In July, 1627, when Bradford and his partners assumed the debts and trade of the plantation, only one shallop, "the bass-boat," is mentioned. Vol. II. p. 30, *infra*.

[1] Captain John Smith wrote a Sea-Grammar, "a booke most necessary for these plantations," giving the terms used in shipping. With that in his hand, he thought "any indifferent capacity may conceive how to direct an unskilfull Carpenter or Sailer to build Boats and Barkes sufficient to saile those coasts and rivers, and put a good workman in minde of many things in this businesse hee may easily mistake or forget. But to be excellent in this faculty is the master-peece of all the most necessary workmen in the world." *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters*, *26.

would not suffer him to goe on to bring his work to perfection; for [1] as he by his bould confidence and large promises deceived them in England that sente him, so had he wound him selfe in to these mens high esteeme hear, so as they were faine to let him goe on till all men saw his vanity. For he could not doe any thing but boyle salt in pans, and yet would make them that were joynd with him beleeve ther was so grat a misterie in it as was not easie to be attained, and made them doe many unnecessary things to blind their eyes, till they discerned his sutl[e]tie.[2] The next yere he was sente to Cap-Anne, and the pans were set up ther wher the fishing was; but before sommer was out, he burnte the house, and the fire was so vehemente as it spoyld the pans, at least some of them, and this was the end of that chargable bussines.[3]

[1] Some words have been effectually obliterated by Bradford at this place.

[2] The making of salt, upon a large scale, had been introduced into England only a few decades before this time. The supply of this very important article of food came largely from abroad, and chiefly from the French ports on the Bay of Biscay. Some salt had been made in the inlets of the sea from a very early time, and the product was known as "bay salt," to distinguish it from salt made from inland salt deposits. Attempts to make salt by Germans had been discountenanced, and in 1563 a monopoly was granted for a new process of manufacture. This monopoly constituted a real grievance, for it greatly raised the price of the article, and thus injuriously affected industries depending upon it, like salting, drying, the preservation of fish, making of vinegar and alegar. Granted by Queen Elizabeth to enrich some courtier without expense to herself, she abolished the objectionable monopoly when it became an urgent question, and the domestic output did not suffice for the needs of the population. The mere dependence upon foreign sources for salt offers good evidence of the backward condition of the English fisheries. Salt wharf lay in Queene Hithe Warde, and Salters Hall on Breadstreet, in the ward of the same name. The plantation at Pascataqua, under David Thomson, is said to have made salt to good advantage. Adams, *Annals of Portsmouth*, II. Yet vessels coming to America to fish brought the necessary salt as part of their freight, and probably to serve as ballast.

[3] The Dorchester Company had left some salt at Cape Ann, and in 1625 "John Tilly now resident (as this defendant beleiveth in New England) or some other or others who were ymployed for the said ioynt Adventurers did without any order of this defendant or of any other of the said ioynt Adventurers to this defendants knowledge take some salt which was left at Cape Anne in New England aforesaid by the Master and company of the Zouch Phenix in the bill menconed and that some persons

The 3d. eminente person (which the letters before mention) was the minister which they sent over, by name Mr. John Lyford, of whom and whose doings I must be more large, though I shall abridg things as much as I can.[1] When this man first came a shore, he saluted them with that reverence and humilitie as is seldome to be seen, and indeed made them ashamed, he so bowed and cringed unto them, and would have kissed their hands if they would have [118] suffered him;[2] yea, he wept and shed many tears, blessing God that had brought him to see their faces; and admiring the things they had done in their wants, etc. as if he had been made all of love, and the humblest person in the world. And all the while

alsoe who were of New Plimouth Plantac̃on in New England aforesaid tooke alsoe some of the same salt but how much thereof was taken by the said Tilly or by any other or how the same was ymployed or bestowed which was soe taken this defendant knoweth not." In 1627 John Watts, sailing on a fishing voyage for some of the members of the Dorchester Company, took some twenty-six hogsheads of salt from this same deposit, which he found on an island in Cape Ann harbor, uncovered and open to the air. The salt had lost so much of its savor that the fish on which it was used became corrupted and unsalable. Suit was brought against John White and John Watts by Henry Beale and Peter Lenartes to recover the value of boats, shallops, nets and provisions alleged to have been taken by Watts. The answer of White is printed in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, XLIII. 493. It affords a mention of Thomas Morton, of later notoriety in these pages, saying, "that when the said salt was taken by this defendant in New England aforesaid one Mr. Morton then dwelling in New England aforesaid claymed the said salt as belonging unto him or as committed to his charge."

[1] The sending of Lyford was a part of the price of harmony among the London adventurers (p. 358, *supra*). Morton states expressly that he was "at the Merchants chardge sent to Plimmouth plantation to be their Pastor." *New English Canaan* (Prince Society), 262. It was in this expectation that his friends and supporters opposed the coming of Robinson. The status given by Cushman to Lyford, this "honest plaine man," was not accurate, and only enough had been told to Cushman to induce him to give notice to New Plymouth of what Lyford might be. It is very probable that before he was allowed to exercise in the Plymouth Church, something was said of his previous calling, and any doubt arising from it would be silenced by his humility and readiness to accede to what the occasion required.

[2] Of which were many witneses. —BRADFORD. There is no mark in the MS. to show the reference of this note, and it may apply to what follows rather than to the sentence to which it is now attached.

(if we may judg by his after cariages) he was but like him mentioned in Psa: 10. 10. That croucheth and boweth, that heaps of poore may fall by his might. Or like to that dissembling Ishmaell,[1] who, when he had slaine Gedelia, went out weeping and mette them that were coming to offer incence in the house of the Lord; saing, Come to Gedelia, when he ment to slay them. They gave him the best entertainment they could, (in all simplisitie,) and a larger alowans of food out of the store then any other had, and as the Gov[erno]r had used in all waightie affairs to consulte with their Elder, Mr. Brewster, (togeither with his assistants), so now he caled Mr. Liford also to counsell with them in their waightiest bussineses. After some short time he desired to joyne him selfe a member to the church hear, and was accordingly received. He made a large confession of his faith, and an acknowledgemente of his former disorderly walking, and his being intangled with many corruptions, which had been a burthen to his conscience, and blessed God for this opportunitie of freedom and libertie to injoye the ordinances of God in puritie among his people, with many more shuch like expressions. I must hear speake a word also of Mr. John Oldom, who was a copartner with him in his after courses.[2] He had bene a cheefe sticler in the former faction among the per-

[1] Jer. 41. 6. — BRADFORD. "And Ishmael the sonne of Nethaniah went foorth from Mizpah to meete them, weeping, as he went; and when he met them, hee sayd vnto them, Come to Gedaliah the sonne of Ahikam."

[2] John Oldham, who had come in the *Anne* with ten associates "on their particular," proved factious from the beginning, but could not have been greatly feared by Bradford, as the punishment inflicted indicated. Lyford's coming gave him the incentive to agitate against the government, and a companion, perhaps a directing agent, in his actions. His conduct at the beginning showed design and imitated that of Lyford, that the planters should be thrown off their guard and share with them the councils of state. That a bond of some description connected them is proved by their leaving New Plymouth together, and together going to "Natasco," but it is difficult to believe it was a church bond. Oldham's subsequent career would go to show that agriculture was not his particular liking, or that the knowledge he gained of the profits of the fur trade developed his cupidity and love of adventure. His character is well described in Adams, *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History*, 215.

ticulers, and an intelligencer to those in England. But now, since the coming of this ship and he saw the supply that came, he tooke occasion to open his minde to some of the cheefe amongst them heere, and confessed he had done them wrong both by word and deed, and writing into England; but he now saw the eminente hand of God to be with them, and his blesing upon them, which made his hart smite him, neither should those in England ever use him as an instrumente any longer against them in any thing; he also desired former things might be forgotten, and that they would looke upon him as one that desired to close with them in all things, with shuch like expressions. Now whether this was in hipocrisie, or out of some sudden pange of conviction (which I rather thinke), God only knows. Upon it they shew all readynes to imbrace his love, and carry towards him in all frendlynes, and called him to counsell with them in all cheefe affairs, as the other, without any distrust at all.

Thus all things seemed to goe very comfortably and smothly on amongst them, at which they did much rejoyce; but this lasted not [119] long, for both Oldom and he grew very perverse, and shewed a spirite of great malignancie, drawing as many into faction as they could; were they never so vile or profane, they did nourish and back them in all their doings; so they would but cleave to them and speak against the church hear; so as ther was nothing but private meetings and whisperings amongst them; they feeding themselves and others with what they should bring to pass in England by the faction of their friends their, which brought others as well as them selves into a fools paradise. Yet they could not cary so closly but much of both their doings and sayings were discovered, yet outwardly they still set a faire face of things.

At lenght when the ship was ready to goe, it was observed Liford was long in writing, and sente many letters, and could not forbear to comunicate to his intimates shuch things as made them laugh in their sleeves, and thought he had done ther errand

sufficiently. The Gov[erno]r and some other of his freinds knowing how things stood in England, and what hurt these things might doe, tooke a shalop and wente out with the ship a league or ·2· to sea, and caled for all Lifords and Oldums letters.[1] Mr. William Peirce being m[aste]r of the ship, (and knew well their evill dealing both in England and here,) afforded him all the assistance he could. He found above ·20· of Lyfords letters, many of them larg, and full of slanders, and false accusations, tending not only to their prejudice, but to their ruine and utter subversion. Most of the letters they let pas, only tooke copys of them, but some of the most materiall they sent true copyes of them, and kept the originalls, least he should deney them, and that they might produce his owne hand against him. Amongst his letters they found the coppyes of tow letters which he sent inclosed in a leter of his to Mr. John Pemberton, a minster, and a great opposite of theirs. These ·2· letters of which he tooke the coppyes were one of them write by a gentle-man in England to Mr. Brewster here, the other by Mr. Winslow to Mr. Robinson, in Holand, at his coming away, as the ship lay at Gravsend. They lying sealed in the great cabin, (whilst Mr. Winslow was bussie

[1] The governor could have cited good authority for his tampering with the letters. Gorges in 1607 desired the Earl of Salisbury "to sende downe present commaunde, to intercept all letters whatsoever, and to whomesoever, and to cause them to bee sent up, for I know in whose possession these letters ar yet, and I thinke I shall finde the meanes to keepe them from being delivered in haste." The letters were from Ralegh Gilbert, of the Popham colony. Gorges, III. 159. In the instructions issued to Gates, the first governor of Virginia under the charter of 1609, "to prevent false and unfavorable reports concerning the plantation reaching England, the governor should inform himself, so far as possible, as to the substance of all letters and messages which were sent home, and transmit his knowledge to the royal council." Osgood, *American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century*, I. 62. The Lords of the Council wrote to Nicholas Ferrar, December 30, 1623, "for some causes knowne unto us wee do hereby require you to seaze upon all the letters aswell publique as private that come in the said ship [from Virginia], and to bringe or cause them to bee safely brought unto us unopened with as much expedition as you can." *Va. Hist. Mag.*, X. 134.

aboute the affairs of the ship,) this slye marchante[1] takes and opens them, takes these coppys, and seals them up againe; and not only sends the coppyes of them thus to his friend and their adversarie, but adds thertoo in the margente many scurrilous and flouting annotations. This ship went out *towards ev[e]ning*, and *in the night* the Gov[erno]r returned. They were somwaht blanke at it, but after some weeks, when they heard nothing, they then were as briske as ever, thinking nothing had been knowne, but all was gone currente, and that the Gov[erno]r went but to dispatch his owne letters. The reason why the Gov[erno]r and rest concealed these things the longer, was to let things ripen, that they [120] might the better discover their intents and see who were their adherents. And the rather because amongst the rest they found a letter of one of their confederates, in which was writen that Mr. Oldame and Mr. Lyford intended a reformation in church and commone wealth;[2] and, as soone as the ship was gone, they intended to joyne togeather, and have the sacrements, etc.

For Oldame, few of his leters were found, (for he was so bad a scribe as his hand was scarce legable,) yet he was as deepe in the mischeefe as the other. And thinking they were now strong enough, they begane to pick quarells at every thing. Oldame being called to watch (according to order) refused to come, fell out with the Capten, caled him raskell, and begerly raskell, and resisted him, drew his knife at him; though he offered him no wrong, nor gave him no ille termes, but with all fairnes required him to doe his duty. The Gov[erno]r, hearing the tumulte, sent to quiet it, but he

[1] The word is used in its obsolete meaning of "a fellow" or "chap." Examples of this use are given in the *New English Dictionary*.

[2] It was impossible to divide the church from the state, and to propose a change or reformation in church was to propose a change in the commonwealth. From the Lyford-Oldham incident through the Colonial and into the Provincial period, a charge of sedition lay against all innovations in church government or in matters of doctrine. Such a belief made it simple to suppress what threatened existing conditions, as the state was concerned equally with the church.

ramped more like a furious beast then a man, and cald them all treatours, and rebells, and other shuch foule language as I am ashamed to remember; but after he was clapt up a while, he came to him selfe, and with some slight punishmente was let goe upon his behaviour for further censure.[1]

But to cutt things shorte, at length it grew to this esseue, that Lyford with his complicies, without ever speaking one word either to the Gov[erno]r, Church, or Elder, withdrewe them selves and set up a publick meeting aparte, on the Lord's day;[2] with sundry shuch insolente cariages, too long here to relate, begining now publikly to acte what privatly they had been long plotting.

It was now thought high time (to prevent further mischeefe) to calle them to accounte; so the Gov[erno]r called a courte and summoned the whole company to appeare. And then charged Lyford

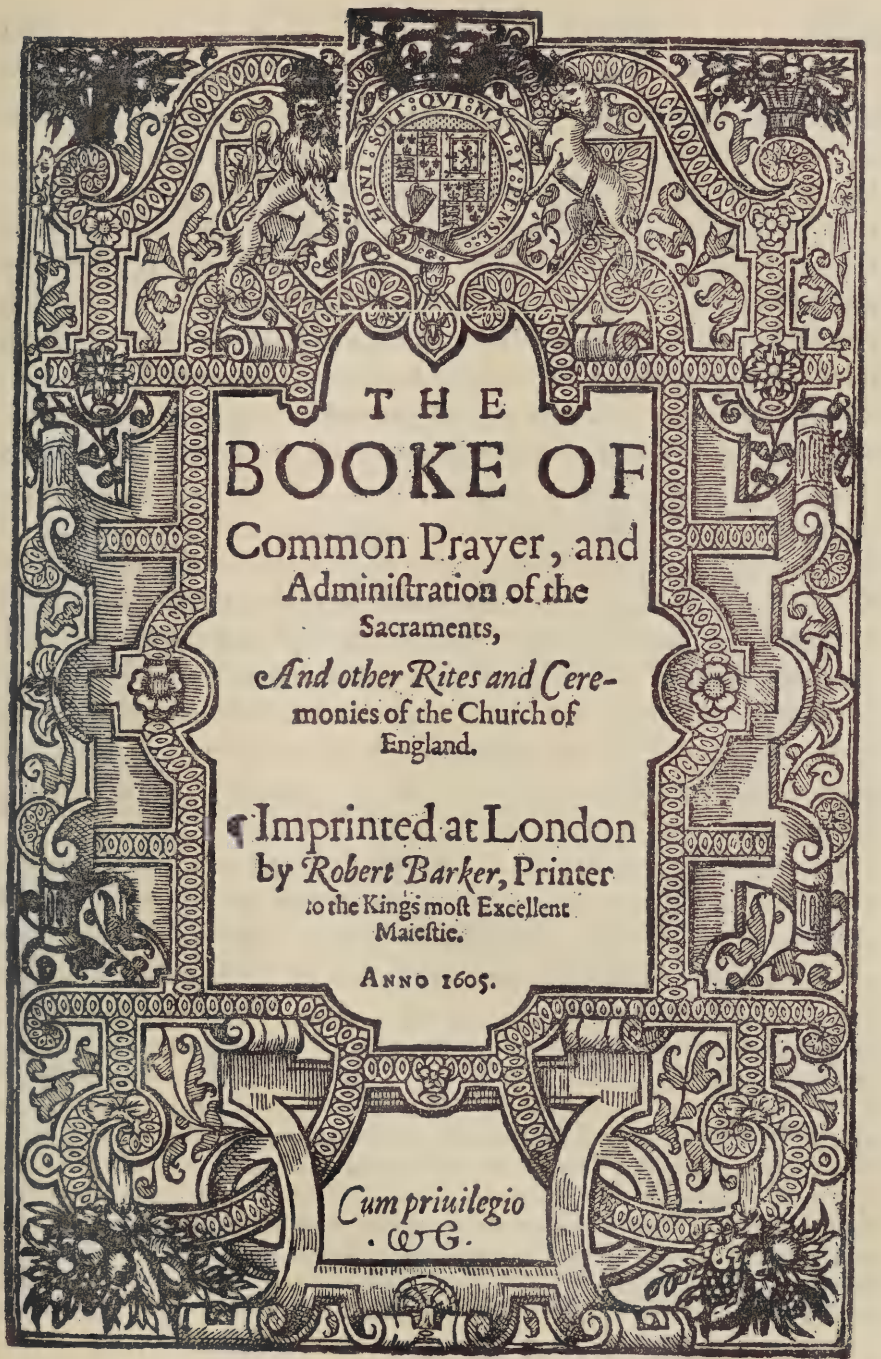
[1] "They injoyne him to come to their needeles watch howse in person, and for refusinge give him a cracked Crowne for presse money, and make the blood run downe about his eares; a poore trick, yet a good vaile, though Luscus may see thorough it." Morton, *New English Canaan* (Prince Soc.), 263. Luscus was a cognomen of the Annia, Aufidia, and Furia gentes, derived from a physical imperfection — blear-sight.

[2] Morton in his *New English Canaan*, written to attract the attention of Laud, seeks to place the dislike of the planters to Lyford and Oldham on religious grounds, and especially on their rejection of the Book of Common Prayer and the ritual there imposed. By this means the two "cancelled theire good opinion amongst the number of the Separatists, that stay they must not, lest they should be spies." Hence the charge of scandalous life against Lyford and of hot-temper against Oldham. It is evident that Morton seeks to make out a case in favor of the two, by dwelling upon their conformity as against the Separatists.

In Morton's statement (p. 396, *infra*) it is asserted that Lyford followed the practices of the Church of England, and must, therefore, have used the Book of Common Prayer. In another chapter of his *New English Canaan* (Prince Society), 260, Morton gives words and phrases that bear every evidence of being authentic. "The booke of common prayer, sayd they, what poore thing is that, for a man to reade in a booke? No, no, good sirs, I would you were neere us, you might receave comfort by instruction: give me a man hath the guiftes of the spirit, not a booke in hand. I doe professe sayes one, to live without the meanes is dangerous, the Lord doth know." Morton wrote his book twelve years after the events he describes, and with a clear purpose to discredit the authorities in New England and secure his own ends in England.

and Oldam with shuch things as they were guilty of. But they were stiffe, and stood resolutly upon the deneyall of most things, and required proofe. They first alledged what was write to them out of England, compared with their doings and p[r]actises hear; that it was evident they joyned in plotting against them, and disturbing their peace, both in respecte of their civill and church state, which was most injurious; for both they and all the world knew they came hither to injoye the libertie of their conscience and the free use of Gods ordinances; and for that end had ventured their lives and passed throwgh so much hard shipe hithertoo, and they and their freinds had borne the charg of these beginings, which was not small. And that Lyford for his parte was sent over on this charge, and that both he and his great family was maintained on the same, and also was joyned to the church, and a member of them; and for him to plote against them and seek their ruine, was most unjust and perfidious. And for [121] Oldam or any other that came over at their owne charge, and were on ther perticuler, seeing they were received in curtesie by the plantation, when they came only to seeke shelter and protection under their wings, not being able to stand alone, that they, (according to the fable,) like the hedghogg whom the conny in a stormy day in pittie received into her borrow, would not be content to take part with her, but in the end with her sharp pricks forst the poore conny to forsake her owne borrow; so these men with the like injustice indevored to doe the same to thos that entertained them.

Lyford denyed that he had any thing to doe with them in England or knew of their courses, and made other things as strange that he was charged with. Then his letters were produsced and some of them read, at which he was struck mute. But Oldam begane to rage furiously, because they had intercepted and opened his letters, threatening them in very high language, and in a most audacious and mutinous maner stood up and caled upon the people, saying, My maisters, wher is your harts? now shew your courage, you have



THE BOOKE OF Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments,

And other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England.

¶ Imprinted at London by *Robert Barker*, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Maiestie.

Anno 1605.

Cum priuilegio
.CG.

oft complained to me so and so; now is the time, if you will doe any thing, I will stand by you, etc. Thinking that every one (knowing his humor) that had soothed and flattered him, or other wise in their discontente uttered any thing unto him, would now side with him in open rebellion. But he was deceived, for not a man opened his mouth, but all were silent, being strucken with the injustice of the thing. Then the Gov[erno]r turned his speech to Mr. Lyford, and asked him if he thought they had done evill to open his letters; but he was silente, and would not say a word, well knowing what they might reply. Then the Gov[erno]r shewed the people he did it as a magistrate, and was bound to it by his place, to prevent the mischeefe and ruine that this conspiracie and plots of theirs would bring on this poor colony.[1] But he, besides his evill dealing hear, had delte trecherusly with his freinds that trusted him, and stole their letters and opened them, and sent coppies of them, with disgracefull annotations, to his freinds in England. And then the Gov[erno]r produced them and his other letters under his owne hand, (which he could not deney,) and caused them to be read before all the people; at which all his freinds were blanke, and had not a word to say.

It would be too long and tedious here to inserte his letters (which would almost fill a volume), though I have them by me. I shall only note a few of the cheefe things collected out of them, with the answers to them as they were then given; and but a few

[1] The definition of the office of the Governor contained in the *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, XI. 7, probably dates from 1636, but the essential features must have been settled at a very much earlier period. In the form of 1636 it is stated that it shall be lawful for the Governor "to examine any suspicious persons for evill against the Colony, as also to intercept or op[pose] such as he conceiveth may tend to the overthrow of the same." In the Book of Laws of 1658 the second clause was so modified as to read "to interupt or oppose such letters as he," etc. *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, XI. 82, 158. It is safe to say that the word *interupt* should read *intercept* in both instances. The laws and orders of Massachusetts Bay contained no like provision; but the oath of the Governor in New England will be found in *Mass. Col. Rec.*, I. 351; that of a freeman, known only in its later form of 1634, in *Ib.* 117.

of those many, only for instance, by which the rest may be judged of. [121][1]

1. First, he saith, the church would have none to live hear but them selves. 2ly. Neither are any willing so to doe if they had company to live els-wher.

Ans: Their answer was, that this was false, in both the parts of it; for they were willing and desirous that any honest men may live with them, that will cary them selves peac[e]ably, and seek the commone good, or at least doe them no hurte. And againe, ther are many that will not live els wher so long as they may live with them.

2. That if ther come over any honest men that are not of the seperation, they will quickly distast them, etc.[2]

A. Ther answer was as before, that it was a false callumniation, for they had many amongst them that they liked well of, and were glad of their company; and should be of any shuch like that should come amongst them.[3]

[1] 121 is repeated in the paging of the original.

[2] This charge was made in a letter from some of the Adventurers, December 18, 1624, and as it stood first in order, the gravity of the offence was thus emphasized. "1st. A distaste of you there, for that you are (as they affirm) Brownists, condemning all other churches, and persons but yourselves and those in your way, and you are contentious, cruel and hard hearted, among your neighbors and towards such as in all points both civil and religious, jump not with you." *Bradford Letter Book*, 29.

[3] Replying to a charge of the same nature, made by Samuel Gorton, Winslow pointed out that the church at Plymouth had received some of the Dutch church, like Godbert Godbertson and Moses Symonson; some of the French church, as Mrs. Francis Cooke, a Walloon, and Philip Delanoy. "For the truth is, the *Dutch* and *French* Churches either of them being a people distinct from the world, and gathered into an holy communion, and not National Churches, nay, so far from it, as I verily believe the sixth person is not of the Church, the difference is so small (if moderately pondered, between them and us) as we dare not for the world deny communion with them." *Hypocrisie Unmasked*, *96. The church at Leyden "made no Schisme or separation from the Reformed Churches, but held communion with them occasionally: For we ever placed a large difference between those that grounded their practise upon the Word of God (tho differing from us in the exposition, or understanding of it) and those that hated such Reformers and Reformation, and went on in Antichristian

3. That they excepted against him for these ·2· doctrines raised from ·2· Sam.: 12. 7. First, that ministers must sume times perticulerly apply their doctrine to spetiall persons; 2ly, that great men may be reproved as well as meaner.[1]

A. Their answer was, that both these were without either truth or colour of the same (as was proved to his face), and that they had taught and beleeved these things long before they knew Mr. Liford.

4. That they utterly sought the ruine of the perticulers; as appeareth by this, that they would not suffer any of the generall either to buy or sell with them, or to exchaing one commoditie for another.

Ans: This was a most malicious slander and voyd of all truth, as was evidently proved to him before all men; for any of them did both buy, sell, or exchaing with them as often as they had any occation. Yea, and allso both lend and give to them when they wanted; and this the perticuler persons them selves could not deney, but freely confest in open court. But the ground from whence this arose made it much worse, for he was in counsell with them. When one was called before them, and questioned for receiving powder and bisket from the gunner of the small ship, which was the companys, and had it put in at his window in the night, and allso for buying salt of one, that had no right to it, he not only stood to back him (being one of these perticulers) by excusing and extenuating his falte, as long as he could, but upon this builds this mischee[v]ous and most false slander: That because they would

opposition to it, and persecution of it, as the late Lord Bishops did, who would not in deed and truth (whatever their pretences were) that Christ should rule over them." *Hypocrisie Unmasked*, *94.

[1] "Then Nathan said to David, Thou art the man. Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, I anoynted thee King over Israel, and delivered thee out of the hand of Saul." This involved the question of church discipline and of excommunication. The separatists believed that excommunication should be exercised by the church, and not by officers, as was practised in the English establishment. Robinson, *Works*, II. 238.

not suffer them to buy stolne goods, ergo, they sought their utter ruine. Bad logick for a devine.

5. Next he writes, that he chocked them with this; that they turned [122] men into their perticuler, and then sought to starve them, and deprive them of all means of subsistance.

A. To this was answered, he did them manifest wrong, for they turned none into their perticuler; it was their owne importunitie and ernest desire that moved them, yea, constrained them to doe it. And they apealed to the persons them selves for the truth hereof. And they testified the same against him before all present, as allso that they had no cause to complaine of any either hard or unkind usage.[1]

6. He accuseth them with unjust distribution, and writeth, that it was a strang[e] difference, that some have bene alowed 16*li.* of meale by the weeke, and others but 4*li.*[2] And then (floutingly) saith, it seems some mens mouths and bellies are very litle and slender over others.

Ans: This might seeme strange indeed to those to whom he write his leters in England, which knew not the reason of it; but to him and others hear, it could not be strange, who knew how things stood. For the first commers had none at all, but lived on their corne. Those which *came in the Anne, the August before*, and were to live ·13· months of the provissions they brought, had as good alowance in meal and pease as it would extend too, the most part of the year; but a litle before harvest, when thay had not only fish, but other fruits began to come in, they had but 4*li.*[3] having their libertie to make their owne provissions. But some of these which came last, as the ship carpenter, and sawiers, the salte-men and others that were to follow constante imployments

[1] See p. 352, *supra.*

[2] See p. 323, *supra.* Meal was brought from England, and it was estimated that eight bushels for each man a year, with other provision, would be a sufficient allowance.

[3] From this point to the "4*li*" below was dropped by the copyist for Mr. Deane's text, and was omitted in his edition.

and had not an howers time, from their hard labours, to looke for any thing above their alowance; they had at first, 16*li* alowed them, and after wards as fish, and other food could be gott, they had abatemente, to ·14· and ·12· yea some of them to ·8· as the times and occasions did vary. And yet thos[e] which followed planting and their owne occasions, and had but 4*li*. of meall a week, lived better then the other, as was well knowne to all. And yet it must be remembered that Lyford and his had allwais the highest alowance.

Many other things (in his letters) he accused them of, with many aggravations; as that he saw exseeding great wast of tools and vesseles; and this, when it came to be examened, all the instance he could give was, that he had seen an old hogshed or too fallen to peeces, and a broken how or tow lefte carlesly in the feilds by some. Though he also knew that a godly, honest man was appointed to looke to these things.[1] But these things and shuch like was write of by him, to cast disgrace and prejudice upon them; as thinking what came from a [123] minister would pass for currente. Then he tells them that Winslow should say, that ther was not above ·7· of the adventurers that souight the good of the collony.[2] That Mr. Oldam and him selfe had had much to doe with them, and that the faction here might match the Jesuits for politie. With many the like greevious complaints and accusations.[3]

1. Then, in the next place, he comes to give his freinds coun-

[1] It was charged that they "are negligent, careless, wasteful, unthrifty, and suffer all general goods, and affairs to go at six and sevens and spend your time in idleness and talking and confering, and care not what be wasted and torn out, whilst all things come so easily, and so cheap unto you." *Letter of some of the Adventurers*, December 18, 1624. *Bradford Letter Book*, 30.

[2] Winslow's statement may have been a reflection of Robinson's, p. 370, *supra*.

[3] The charge was made by some of the Adventurers of "a distaste and personal contempt of us for taking your parts and striving to defend you, and make the best of all matters touching you, inasmuch as it is hard to say whether you or we are least loved of them." *Letter of some of the Adventurers*, December 18, 1624. *Bradford Letter Book*, 30.

sell and directtion. And first, that the Leyden company (Mr. Robinson and the rest) must still be kepte back, or els all will be spoyled. And least any of them should be taken in privatly somewher on the coast of England, (as it was feared might be done,) they must chaing the m[aste]r of the ship (Mr. William Peirce), and put another allso in Winslows stead, for marchante, or els it would not be prevented.

2. Then he would have shuch a number provided as might oversway them hear. And that the perticulers should have voyces in all courts and elections, and be free to bear any office. And that every perticuler should come over as an adventurer, if he but be a servante; some other venturing 10*li.*, the bill may be taken out in the servants name, and then assigned to the party whose money it was, and good covenants drawn betweene them for the clearing of the matter; and this (saith he) would be a means to strengthen this side the more.[1]

[1] Here was the first move towards extending the suffrage in the Plantation so as to include others than the first comers. Certain to come at some time, it made itself felt in this year by the increase in the number of people, and an increase in their troubles and occasions. (P. 352, *supra.*) The right to vote was confined to a few, for it was still a community under common interests and liable for a common debt. The first list of freemen, comprising sixty-eight persons, made in 1633, will be found in *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, I. 1. To be a "freeman of the incorporation of New Plymouth" gave a voice in the conduct of affairs and a necessary qualification to hold office. In the session of the General Court of July, 1668, it was enacted, that "none shall voate in Towne meetings but Freemen or Freeholders of twenty pound ratable estate and of good conversation haueing taken the oath of fidelitie." *Plymouth Col. Rec.*, XI. 223. In Massachusetts Bay the freemen were always church members, but all church members were not freemen. Winthrop, *History* (Savage), II. 208. After 1654, to be elected a Deputy in the General Court, it was necessary to be orthodox on the main points of Christian religion. *Book of the General Lawes and Libertyes* (1660), 25. The suggestion, if adopted, for making voters by including adventurers and their articled servants would have tended to disrupt the settlement in a very short time. Oldham, for example, would have ten voices, assuming he still held under him those for whom he drew land in 1624, and that would have represented one-sixth of the total vote of the freemen in February, 1633. The question is beset with difficulties because of the absence of records; but the patents gave to the "adventurers and associates" to

3. Then he tells them that if that capten they spoake of should come over hither as a generall,[1] he was perswaded he would be chosen capten; for this Captaine Standish looks like a silly boy, and is in utter contempte.[2]

4. Then he shows that if by the formentioned means they cannot be sterngthened to cary and over-bear things, it will be best for them to plant els wher by them selves; and would have it artickled by them that they might make choyse of any place that they liked best within ·3· or ·4· myls distance, shewing ther were farr better places for plantation then this.[3]

5. And lastly he concludes, that if some number came not over to bear them up here, then ther would be no abiding for them, but by joyning with these hear. Then he adds: Since I begane to write, ther are letters come from your company, wherin they would give sole authoritie in diverce things unto the Gov[erno]r here; which, if it take place, then, *Ve nobis*. But I hope you will be more vigilante hereafter, that nothing may pass in shuch a manner. I suppose (saith he) Mr. Oldame will write to you further of these things. I pray you conceall me in the discovery of these things, etc.

Thus I have breefly touched some cheefe things in his leters, and shall now returne to their procceeding with him. After the

govern, and the extension of the body was by formal admission of freemen by an act of the General Court.

[1] "That is, on 'the generall,' — as one of the company?" DEANE.

[2] "Captain Standish had been bred a soldier in the Low Countries, and never entered the school of our Savior Christ, or of John Baptist, his harbinger, or, if he was ever there, had forgot his first lessons, to offer violence to no man [Luke, III. 14], and to part with the cloak rather than needlessly contend for the coat [Math. v. 40], though taken away without order. A little chimney is soon fired; so was the Plymouth Captain, a man of very little stature, yet of a very hot and angry temper. The fire of his passion soon kindled and blown up into a flame by hot words, might easily have consumed all, had it not been seasonably quenched." Hubbard, *History*, III.

[3] To have made another settlement, under an independent authority, within three or four miles of New Plymouth might have been fatal to both settlements. The trade with the Indians could not have been divided without hopelessly involving the first comers, who had assumed the debts of the community.

reading of his leters before the whole company, he was demanded what he could say to these things. [124] But all the answer he made was, that Billington[1] and some others had informed him of many things, and made sundrie complaints, which they now deneyed. He was againe asked if that was a sufficiente ground for him thus to accuse and traduse them by his letters, and never say word to them, considering the many bonds betweene them. And so they went on from poynte to poynte; and wisht him, or any of his freinds and confederates, not to spare them in any thing; if he or they had any proofe or witnes of any corrupte or evill dealing of theirs, his or their evidence must needs be ther presente, for ther was the whole company and sundery strangers. He said he had been abused by others in their informations, (as he now well saw,) and so had abused them. And this was all the answer they could have, for none would take his parte in any thing; but Billington, and any whom he named, deneyed the things, and protested he wronged them, and would have drawne them to shuch and shuch things which they could not consente too, though they were sometimes drawne to his meetings. Then they delte with him aboute his dissembling with them aboute the church, and that he professed to concur with them in all things, and what a large confession he made at his admittance, and that he held not him selfe a minister till he had a new calling, etc. And yet now he contested against them, and drew a company aparte,[2] and sequestred him selfe; and would goe minister the sacrements (by his Episcopall caling) without ever speaking a word unto them, either as magistrates or bretheren.[3] In conclusion, he was fully convicted,

[1] Billington (probably the elder John) had a grievance against Robert Cushman. "Billington still rails against you, and threatens to arrest you, I know not wherefore; he is a knave, and so will live and die." *Bradford to Cushman*, June 9, 1625. *Bradford Letter Book*, 37.

[2] Bradford first wrote "against them."

[3] The other side of the story is given by Morton, and in what is for him unusually clear terms, with the evident design of creating a prejudice against the planters in

and burst out into tears, and "confest he feared he was a reprobate, his sinns were so great that he doubted God would not pardon them, he was unsavorie salte, etc.; and that he had so wronged them as he could never make them amends, confessing all he had write against them was false and nought, both for matter and manner." And all this he did with as much fullnes as words and tears could express.[1]

After ther triall and conviction, the court censured them to be expeld the place; Oldame presently, though his wife and family had liberty to stay all winter, or longer, till he could make provission to remove them comfortably.[2] Lyford had liberty to stay ·6· months. It was, indeede, with some eye to his release, if he caried him selfe well in the meane time, and that his repentance proved sound. Lyford acknowledged his censure was farr less then he deserved.[3]

the minds of Laud and his following. "But the Brethren, before they would allow of it, would have him first renounce his calling to the office of the Ministery, received in England, as hereticall and Papisticall, (so hee confest,) and then to receive a new callinge from them, after their fantasticall invention: which he refused, alledging and maintaining that his calling as it stood was lawfull, and that hee would not renounce it; and so John Oldam, his opinion was one the affirmative; and both together did maintaine the Church of England to be a true Church, although in some particulars, (they said,) defective; concludinge so against the Tenents there: and by this meanes cancelled theire good opinion amongst the number of the Seperatists, that stay they must not, lest they should be spies." *New English Canaan* (Prince Society), 262.

[1] Passing over any reference to the discovery of Lyford's letters, and the forbearance shown to him by not enforcing the first decree of banishment Morton relates his view of the case thus: "And to fall fowle on this occation the Brethren thought it would betray their cause, and make it fall under censure, therefore against Master Layford they had found out some scandall to be laid on his former corse of life, to blemish that; and so, to conclude, hee was a spotted beast, and not to be allowed where they ordained to have the Passover kept so zealously: as for John Oldam, they could see hee would be passionate and moody, and proove himselfe a mad Iack in his mood, and as soone mooved to be moody, and this impatience would Minister advantage to them to be ridd of him." *New English Canaan* (Prince Society), 263.

[2] Nothing is certainly known about Oldham's family.

[3] Bradford gave an account of these troubles to his father-in-law, Henry May,

Afterwards, he confest his sin publikly in the church, with tears more largly then before. I shall here put it downe as I find it recorded by some who tooke it from his owne words, as him selfe utered them. Acknowledging [125] "That he had don very evill, and slanderously abused them; and thinking most of the people would take parte with him, he thought to cary all by violence and strong hand against them. And that God might justly lay innocente blood to his charge, for he knew not what hurt might have come of these his writings, and blest God they were stayed. And that he spared not to take knowledg from any, of any evill that was spoaken, but shut his eyes and ears against all the good; and if God should make him a vacabund in the earth, as was Caine, it was but just, for he had sined in envie and malice against his brethren as he did. And he confessed ·3· things to be the ground and causes of these his doings: pride, vaine glorie, and selfe love." Amplifying these heads with many other sade expressions, in the perticulers of them.

So as they begane againe to conceive good thoughts of him upon this his repentance, and admited him to teach amongst them as before; and Samuell Fuller (a deacon amongst them), and some other tender harted men amongst them were so taken with his signes of sorrow and repentance, as they professed they would fall upon their knees to have his censure released.

But that which made them all stand amased in the end, and may doe all others that shall come to hear the same, (for a rarer president can scarse be showne,) was, that after a month or ·2· notwithstand[ing] all his former conffessions, convictions, and publick

which produced some hesitation among those at Leyden about going. Roger White speaks of "the fear of some amongst us (the which if that hinder not, I think will come unto you) occasioned partly by your letter to your father in law, Mr. May, wherein you write of the troubles you have had with some, who it is like (having the times and friends on their sides) will work you what mischiefs they can; and that they may do much, many here do fear." To *Bradford*, December 1, 1625. *Bradford Letter Book*, 43.

acknowledgments, both in the face of the church and whole company, with so many tears and sadde censures of him selfe before God and men, he should goe againe to justifie what he had done.

For secretly he write a 2d. leter to the adventurers in England, in which he justified all his former writings, (save in some things which tended to their damage,) the which, because it is brefer then the former, I shall here inserte.

Worthy Sirs: Though the filth of mine owne doings may justly be cast in my face, and with blushing cause my perpetuall silence, yet that the truth may not herby be injuried, your selves any longer deluded, nor in[j]urious dealing caried out still, with bould out facings, I have adventured once more to write unto you. Firest, I doe freely confess I delte very indiscreetly in some of my perticuler leters which I wrote to private freinds, for the courses in coming hither and the like; which I doe in no sorte seeke to justifie, though stired up ther unto in the beholding the indirecte courses held by others, both hear, and ther with you, for effecting their designes. But am hartily sory for it, and doe to the glory of God and mine owne shame acknowledg it. Which leters being intercepted by the Gov[erno]r, I have for the same undergone the censure [126] of banishmente. And had it not been for the respecte I have unto you, and some other matters of private regard, I had returned againe at this time by the pinass for England; for hear I purpose not to abide, unless I receive better incouragmente from you, then from the church (as they call them selves) here I doe receive. I purposed before I came, to undergoe hardnes, therfore I shall I hope cherfully bear the conditions of the place, though very mean; and they have chainged my wages ten times allready. I suppose my letters, or at least the coppies of them, are come to your hands, for so they hear reporte; which, if it be so, I pray you take notice of this, that I have writen nothing but what is certainly true, and I could make so apeare planly to any indifferente men, whatsoever colours be cast to darken the truth, and some ther are very audatious this way; besides many other matters which are farre out of order hear. My mind was not to enlarge my selfe any further, but in respecte of diverse poore souls heere,

the care of whom in parte belongs to you, being here destitute of the means of salvation. For how so ever the church are provided for, to their contente, who are the smalest number in the collony, and doe so apropriate the ministrie to them selves, houlding this principle, that the Lord hath not appointed any ordinary ministrie for the conversion of those that are without, so that some of the poor souls have with tears complained of this to me, and I was taxed for preaching to all in generall. Though in truth they have had no ministrie here since they came, but shuch as may be performed by any of you, by their owne possition, what soever great pretences they make; but herin they equivocate, as in many other things they doe. But I exceede the bounds I set my selfe, therfore resting thus, untill I hear further from you, so it be within the time limited me. I rest, etc.,

Remaining yours ever,

John Lyford, Exille.

Dated Aug: 22. Ano: 1624.

They made a breefe answer to some things in this leter, but referred cheefly to their former. The effecte was to this purpose: That if God in his providence had not brought these things to their hands (both the former and later), they might have been thus abused, tradused, and calumniated, overthrowne, and undone; and never have knowne by whom, nor for what. They desired but this equall favoure, that they would be pleased to hear their just defence, as well as his accusations, and waigh them in the balance of justice and reason, and then censure as they pleased. They had write breefly to the heads of things before, and should be ready to give further [127] answer as any occasion should require; craving leave to adde a word or tow to this last.

1. And first, they desired to examene what filth that was that he acknowledgeth might justly be throwne in his face, and might cause blushing and perpetuall silence; some great mater sure! But if it be looked into, it amounts to no more than a poynte of indiscretion, and thats all; and yet he licks of that too with this

excuse, that he was stired up therunto by beholding the indir[e]cte course here. But this point never troubled him here, it was counted a light matter both by him and his freinds, and put of with this,— that any man might doe so, to advise his private freinds to come over for their best advantage. All his sorrow and tears here was for the wrong and hurt he had done us,[1] and not at all for this he pretends to be done to you: it was not counted so much as indiscretion.

2. Having thus payed you full satisfaction, he thinks he may lay load of us here. And first complains that we have changed his wages ten times. We never agreed with him for any wages, nor made any bargen at all with him, neither know of any that you have made. You sent him over to teach amongst us, and desired he might be kindly used; and more then this we know not.[2] That he hath beene kindly used, (and farr beter then he deserves from us,) he shall be judged first of his owne mouth. If you please to looke upon that writing of his, that was sent you amongst his leters, which he cals a generall relation, in which, though he doth otherwise traduse us, yet in this he him selfe clears us. In the latter end therof he hath these words. *I speak not this* (saith he) *out of any ill affection to the men, for I have found them very kind and loving to me.* You may ther see these to be his owne words under his owne hand. 2ly. It will appere by this that he hath ever had a larger alowance of food out of the store for him and his then any, and clothing as his neede hath required; a dwelling in one of our best houses, and a man wholy at his owne command to tend his private affairs. What cause he hath therfore to complaine, judge ye; and what he means in his speech we know not, except he aludes to that of Jaacob and Laban.[3] If you have promised him more or other wise, you may doe it when you please.

3. Then with an impudente face he would have you take notice, that (in his leters) he hath write nothing but what is certainly true, yea, and he could make it so appeare plainly to any

[1] Bradford had first written "them." [2] Page 357, *supra*. [3] Genesis, xxix.

indifferente men. This indeed doth astonish us and causeth us to tremble at the deceitfullnes [128] and desperate wickednes of mans harte. This is to devoure holy things, and after voues to enquire.[1] It is admirable that after shuch publick confession, and acknowledgmente in court, in church, before God, and men, with shuch sadd expressions as he used, and with shuch melting into teares, that after all this he shoud now justifie all againe. If things had bene done in a corner, it had been some thinge to deney them; but being done in the open view of the cuntrie and before all men, it is more then strange now to avow to make them plainly appear to any indifferente men; and here wher things were done, and all the evidence that could be were presente, and yet could make nothing appear, but even his freinds condemnd him and gave their voyce to his censure, so grose were they; we leave your selves to judge herein. Yet least this man should triumph in his wikednes, we shall be ready to answer him, when, or wher you will, to any thing he shall lay to our charg, though we have done it sufficently allready.

4. Then he saith he would not inlarge, but for some poore souls here who are desti[t]ute of the means of salvation, etc. But all his soothing is but that you would use means, that his censure might be released that he might here continue; and under you (at least) be sheltered, till he sees what his freinds (on whom he depends) can bring about and effecte. For shuch men pretend much for poor souls, but they will looke to their wages and conditions; if that be not to their content, let poor souls doe what they will, they will shift for them selves, and seek poore souls some wher els among richer bodys.

5. Next he fals upon the church, that indeed is the burthensome stone that troubles him. First, he saith they hold this principle, that the Lord hath not apointed any ordinarie ministrie for the

[1] "It is a destruction for a man to devoure that which is sanctified, and after the vowes to enquire." Prov. xx. 25.

converssion of those without. The church needs not be ashamed of what she houlds in this, haveing Gods word for her warrante; that ordinarie officers are bound cheefly to their flocks, Acts 20. 28.[1] and are not to be extravagants, to goe, come, and leave them at their pleasures to shift for them selves, or to be devoured of wolves. But he perverts the truth in this as in other things, for the Lord hath as well appoynted them to converte, as to feede in their severall charges; and he wrongs the church to say other wise. Againe, he saith he was taxed for preaching to all in generall. This is a meere untruth, for this dissembler knows that every Lords day some are appointed to visite suspected places, and if any be found idling and neglecte the hearing of the word, (through idlnes or profanes,) they are punished for the same. Now to procure all to come to hear, and then to blame him for preaching to all, were to play the madd men.[2] [129]

6. Next (he saith) they have had no ministrie since they came, what soever pretences they make, etc. We answer, the more is our wrong, that our pastor is kept from us by these mens means, and then reproach for it us when they have done. Yet have we not been wholy distitute of the means of salvation, as this man would make the world beleeve; for our reve[ren]d Elder hath laboured diligently in dispencing the word of God unto us, before he came; and since hath taken equalle pains with him selfe in preaching the same; and, be it spoaken without ostentation, he is not inferriour to

[1] "Take heede therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flocke, whereof the holy Ghost hath made you Overseers to feede the Church of God which hee hath purchased with that his owne blood."

[2] It will be noticed that no mention is made in any of these charges of the Book of Common Prayer, although Thomas Morton made much of the neglect to use it. No acceptable evidence is available to prove that any difficulty arose between the Plymouth people and Lyford because he used or failed to use the prayer-book, and the absence of any record of persecution for difference in belief or practice at New Plymouth is against Morton's relation. The charge he made was an afterthought on his part, and intended to serve his individual purposes in 1633. Winthrop, *History*, I. *102.

Mr. Lyford (and some of his betters) either in gifts or lerning, though he would never be perswaded to take higher office upon him.[1] Nor ever was more pretended in this matter. For equivocating, he may take it to him selfe; what the church houlds, they have manifested to the world, in all plaines, both in open confession, doctrine, and writing.

This was the sume of ther answer, and hear I will let them rest for the presente. I have bene longer in these things then I desired, and yet not so long as the things might require, for I pass many things in silence, and many more deserve to have been more largly handled. But I will returne to other things, and leave the rest to its place.

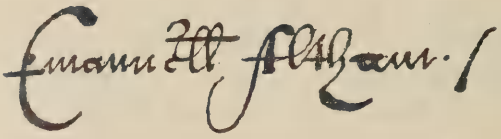
The pinass that was left sunck and cast away near Damarinscove, as is before showed, some of the fishing maisters said it was pitie so fine a vessell should be lost, and sent them word that, if they would be at the cost, they would both directe them how to waygh her, and let them have their carpenters to mend her. They thanked them, and sente men aboute it, and beaver to defray the charge, (without which all had been in vaine). So they gott coopers to trime, I know not how many tune of cask, and being made tight and fastened to her at low-water, they boyed her up; and then with many hands hald her on shore in a conveniente place

[1] Brewster, who would not accept the office of minister, but preferred to remain a ruling Elder, taught when occasion required. "Besides also several of his people were well gifted, and did spend part of the Lord's day in their wonted prophesying, to which they had been accustomed by Mr. Robinson. Those gifts, while they lasted, made the burden of the other defect more easily borne, yet was not that custom of the prophesying of private brethren observed afterwards in any of the churches of New England besides themselves, the ministers of the respective churches there not being so well satisfied in the way thereof, as was Mr. Robinson." Hubbard, *History*, 65. He also attributes the ability of the church at New Plymouth to carry on public worship of God without suitable officers to their being "a serious and religious people that knew their own principles, not like so many of their followers in some parts of the country, properly termed Seekers; of whom it may be said, as our Savior Christ sometimes said of the Samaritans, 'ye worship ye know not what.'"

wher she might be wrought upon; and then hired sundrie carpenters to work upon her, and other to saw planks, and at last fitted her and got her home.[1] But she cost a great deale of money, in thus

[1] Of the salvaging the pinnace Altham wrote:

"After my cominge to our ship and seinge how al things stoode and that although the ship were much spoiled and bruised insomuch that some of our neighbors very dishonestly intised our men to leve the ship and to seeke out for there victals shewinge them that the ship was unrecoverable and usinge many arguments of diswation (to them) god knoweth whoe were willinge to intertaine any thinge against us before but now laiyinge hold one of this oportunite reioycing or I here departed. But at my coming home I got them all together and sought farr and nere for helpe to recover our ship if it were possible, which to doe seemed difficult but by the helpe of one Mr Cooke of Bastable and divers of his frends and my acquaintance, weighed her out of the water and soe by the helpe of many hands wee got the ship into a place nere by convenient to see what possibility there was of saving the ship. Soe having viewed her, there was broken of her starbord side 6 or 7 plancke and some timbers which wee mended with helpe and one her larbord side halfe her plancke timbers and knes were broken in such sort that then she was thought impossible to hold together by reson of the hurt she had receved outward and the shaking of the beames and timbers inwardly but blessed be god by the helpe and meanes that I have got of carpenters shee is now made up as strong and sufficient for the sea as ever she was, and if not one of our company come in her yet by the helpe of god we beinge fitted with a sufficient man master I will come in her and doe not doubt but through gods mercies to doe well in her. although for this time we shall not make soe good a vioge as is expected for whereas we thought to have got 10 or 12 000 fish we had scarce 1000 and some of that was lost and all our salt for the ship beinge beate ashore brake downe our stages and there we lost both the salt and fish that was in it and all the rest of the salt, powder, provision, and many other things which if god spare my life I will give account of were lost, the rest of the things that wee saved shall safely and truly be delivered by mee to you with an account of all our mens cariages and behaviors that soe you may reward some and reprove others.



"And now, Lovinge Sir, since that I have trobled you with writtinge thus farr pardon mee if I bee to tedious, for it makes mee continually be the more larger to you in writtinge, because I know both you and many other good men have laide out much mony upon Plimoth plantation and especially as for the goods upon this ship, soe do I conceve and know your eyes are upon us in a more especiall manner, and for that

recovering her, and buying riging and seails for her, both now and when before she lost her mast; so as she proved a chargable vessell to the poor plantation. So they sent her home, and with her Lyford sent his last letter, in great secrecie; but the party intrusted with it gave it the Gov[erno]r.[1]

this vioage hath not begun nor ended soe well as ether you or I could wish yet I pray pardon mee for a while in the same untill I shall come to speake with you and the rest of the Company, For untill then I will nether comend my care and deligence, nor discomend the want of ether of them, for full sone may a man err, but as my labor and care was never wanting heretofore so untill I shall make a full accomplishment of this troblesome vioage and then to deliver all things in to your owne hand I will continue the same, and as at this time I have noe man to assist mee that I can trust (the master beinge gone) soe will I straine to the uttermost of my knowledge to bring every thing to the same order it was, and then to come for England if our governor pleseth and he hath sent me word that he will provide mee a sufficient man for master notwithstanding Richard Gardiner hath earnestly requested it claiming it as his due by place, but some say not by sufficiency. I will say noe more concerninge him because I know you shall understand it by others, only thus much I must nedes say that soe farr as he could he was willing to helpe us with the ship and now he takes it somewhat unkindly that seing the Company have sent our ships company assurance for there wages that he is not intimated therein, soe much for that which is to be left to your and the Companies wisdome."

[1] "The pinnace probably sailed about the 22d of August, the date of Lyford's letter, and Prince (I. 150) conjectures that Mr. Winslow went in her." DEANE.

It is difficult to interpret the general statements of White in his *Planters Plea* in such a manner as to avoid confusion of dates. He states that the vessel of his Dorchester Company, the *Charity*, returned to New England "the next year," that is the year after the unfortunate adventure described on p. 374, *supra*. The difference in the number of men left at Cape Ann precludes the possibility of his having confused the two voyages, and yet the description hardly permits the identification of the ship, or its companion, with that sent out by the adherents of Lyford and Oldham in 1625 (p. 420, *infra*). White says that with the *Charity* came a Flemish Fly-boat of 140 tons, a description of vessel used generally in coastwise traffic. She was found so unseaworthy that extensive alterations were made, and the voyage again proved too late for good fishing. "When she arived in the Country, being directed by the Master of the smaller vessel [the *Charity*] (vpon the successe of his former yeares Voyage) to fish at *Cape Anne* not far from *Mattachusets* Bay, sped very ill, as did also the smaller Ship that led her thither." By the two ships thirty-two men were left behind at the Cape. White, *The Planters Plea*, *70.

Captain Levett, who was on the coast in the summer of 1624, marks a little unrest

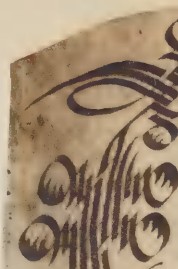
The winter was passed over in ther ordinarie affairs, without any spetiall mater worth noteing; saveing that many who before stood something of from the church, now seeing Lyfords unrighteous dealing, and malignitie against the church, now tendered them selves to the church, and were joyned to the same; proffessing that it was not out of the dislike of any thing that they had stood of so long, but a desire to fitte them selves beter for shuch a state, and they saw now the Lord cald for their help.[1] [130] And so these troubles produsced a quite contrary effecte in sundrie hear, then these adversaries hoped for. Which was looked at as a great worke of God, to draw on men by unlickly means; and that in reason which

in the Plymouth Colony, as if the planters were not wholly content, and would seek another location. He mentions "a new plantation" at Cape Ann, which had been overpraised. "I am told there is a good harbor which makes a fair invitation, but when they are in, their entertainment is not answerable, for there is little good ground, and the ships which fished there this year, their boats went twenty miles to take their fish, and yet they were in great fear of making their voyages, as one of the masters confessed unto me who was at my house." *Voyage*, in 3 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VIII. 180. Levett never visited New Plymouth or Cape Ann.

Altham related to Sherley his plans about the *Little James*, concerning which the decision apparently rested with Bradford:

"Att this time I doe expect news from our governor Mr Bradford and as I thinke he will determine that we shal bring home Mr Perce his cor fish and traine, but I thinke it will fall out otherwaies, for I have at this present receved a letter from one of my acquainetance that is owner of a ship in this Country and he proffers me for to hire our ship and to take our men out and to put them in to his owne ship which goeth for the streights and soe by this meanes I hope to get a good fraught and to save wages and provisions for some of my owne company and this answere I have returned him that I demand 140*li* for our ship and to come for England presently soe that then we shall be defrayed of all charge and have our ship brought home for nothinge, and indede we must be forced to come for England very sone because we have noe provisions nor have any meanes to get any, but of all thes thinges I write in what I thinke, for I have and ever wil doe reffer all thes matters concerninge your ship to the governor and his assistants directions, and if good suffer mee they shall be followed."

[1] "The Lord hath so graciously disposed, that when our opposites thought that many would have followed their faction, they so distasted their palpable dishonest dealings, that they stuck more firmly unto us, and joined themselves to the Church." *Bradford to Cushman*, June 9, 1625. *Bradford Letter Book*, 37.



This Indenture made the thirst day of Jan
the grace of God King of England ffrance and Ireland
the first, Between the right honorable Edmond
Bushman and Edward Winslowe for themselves and their
part. Witnesseth that the said Lord Sheffield
Assotiats have already adventured themselves in person
persons into New England aforesaid And for that the said
as also further to plant at Plymouth aforesaid, and in other
of the said Plantacon and incouragement of the said undertak
doth Give, graunt, assigne, allott and appoint unto and for the said
New England aforesaid lying in fforty three Degrees or thereabout
with the free use and benefitt as well of the Bay comonly called the
fowles, hawke, and hunt, trust and trade in the Landes thereabout, an
id, or hath bin possessed, or which have bin allotted to him the said Lord
by any English together also with fifty hundred Acres of fast Land a
Churches, Churchd, Hospitalls, and for the maintenance of such Ministe
already appointed, or which hereafter shall (with their good liking) resid
Acres of Land before mentioned To be allotted and appointed for every
or their Successors that shall come and dwell at the aforesaid Bay Colle
appointed to every person as aforesaid, shall be taken as the same doth lye
partelly not exceeding an English Mile and a half in length on the Boat
the said Lord Sheffield, his heires, Successors, Tent gathered, or assigned
their heires, Successors or Assotiats Those Rents of lawfull English
demaunded The first payment thereof to begynne yneditatly from a
And the said Lord Sheffield for himself his heires, Successors
Edward Winslowe their heires, assotiats and assignes That they the said
shall freely and quietly have, hold, possesse, and enjoy all such profitts
hereafter by the labo, search, and diligence of the said undertakers the
part of Ground soe graunted unto them as aforesaid, Reserving unto
Reserved as shall be discovered or found out at any tyme by the said Under
further That it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Robert
to tyme; and at all tymes hereafter soe soone as they or their Assign
and resist by force of Armes All and every such person as shall build
Landes soe as aforesaid graunted, without the leave and license of the La
further Covenant and graunt That upon a lawfull survey made and to
heires, or assignes of the Meeres, Bounds, and quantity of Landes
and be by them their Assotiats, Servants, or assignes inhabited as
reasonable request of the said Undertakers, or their Assotiats, shall
and allott unto the said Robert Cushman and Edward Winslowe the
the space of Seaven yeares next after the date hereof in as large
Lands, or hereafter shall have the same Landes, or any of them, graun
ance tontyned (mutatis mutandis) And shall and will also at all
heires, or assignes by the said Edward and Robert their heires, assi
Letters, or other Graunts of Jurisdiccon whereby the said Und
to tyme to make and establish Lawes, Ordynnes, and Constitucons
which hereafter shalbe planted and inhabitt there And in the me
Edward their heires, assotiats, and assignes by consent of the greate
by them thought most fitt and convenient for the government of
sorts, offices, or offices, as the said Undertakers or their Assotiats
That the said Lawes, Proviscons and Ordynnes which are or shall be
of the President and Councell of New England Provided
the said Lord Sheffield his heires and Successors to be their Chiefe
Court when upon his or their owne Plantacon the same shalbe
Indentures Interchaungeably have put their Hands and Seales

...ance Anno Dñi 1623 And in the Yeares of the Raigne of o^r Soveraigne Lord James by
...defender of the faith, &c the One and Twentyth And of Scotland the Seaven and
...Sheffeild Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter on thone part And Robert
...Asseriats and Planters at Plymouth in New England in America on thother
...Itwell in Consideracon that the said Robert and Edward and diverse of theire
...and have likewise at theire owne proper costs and charges transported diverse
...bert and Edward and theire Asseriats also intend aswell to transport more persons
...ated in New England aforesaid Nd for the better Advancement and furtherance
...nd Wath Sywen, graunted, assigned, allotted, and appointed And by these p^rsents
...Robert and Edward and theire Asseriats Aswell a certaine Tract of Grownd in
...of Northerly latitude and in a knowne place there commonly called Cape Anne, together
...y of Cape Anne, and also of the Ilands within the said Bay And free libertie to fysh
...in all other places in New England aforesaid, wherof the said Lord Esh, effeild
...Sheffeild, or within his Jurisdiccon (not nowe being inhabited, or hereafter to be inhabited
...coming to the said Bay to be employed for publiq^e uses, and for the building of a Towne,
...d, officers, and Magistrats, as by the said undertakers, and theire Asseriats are there
..., and inhabitt there And also Thirty Acres of Land, over and besides the fyve hundred
...certaine p^rson, young, or old (being the Asseriats, or servants of the said undertakers
...within Seaven yeares next after the date hereof, which Thirty Acres of Lande soe
...ogether upon the said Bay in one entire place, and not straggling in dyvers, or remote
...de side of the said Bay **yelding and paying** forever yearely unto
...r every Thirty Acres soe to be obteined, and possessed by the said Robert & Edward
...money At the ffeast of St Michaell Tharchaungell only (if it be lawfully
...d after theend and expiracon of the first Seaven yeares next after the date hereof
...nd assigned doth covenant, promise, and graunt to and with the said Robert Cushman and
...Robert, and Edward, and such other p^rsons as shall plant, and contract with them,
...ights, p^rviledges, benefitts, Jurisdiccons, advantages, and p^rheminences as shall
...ne Asseriats, servants, or Assignes be obteyned, found out, or made within the said
...he said Lord Sheffeild his heires, successors, and assignes The one Moyety of all such
...taken, or any theire heires, successors, or assignes upon the Grownds aforesaid **And**
...Cushman, and Edward Winslowe theire heires, Asseriats, and assignes from tyme
...d have taken possession, or entred into any of the said Lands, to fortifie, repell, repulse
...ant, or inhabitt, or which shall offer, or make show to build, plant, or inhabitt within the
...d Robert, and Edward or theire assignes **And the said** Lord Sheffeild doth
...ken of the aforesaid Lands, and good information given to the said Lord Sheffeild his
...with the said Robert, and Edward theire heires, Asseriats, or assignes shall take in
...foresaid; he the said Lord Sheffeild his heires, or assignes, at and upon the
...nd will by good and sufficient Assurance in the Lawe graunt, enfeoffe, confirme
...e Asseriats, and Assignes All and every the said Lands soe to be taken in within
...mple, and beneficiall manner, as the said Lord Sheffeild his heires, or assignes nowe
...d unto him, or them, for such rent, and under such covenants, and provisoes as herein
...nued hereafter upon reasonable request made to him the said Lord Sheffeild his
...ates, or assignes, or any of them graunt, p^rmitt, and make good, lawfull & sufficient
...staked, and theire Asseriats shall have libertie and lawfull authoritie from tyme
...or the ruling, ordering and governing of such p^rsons as nowe are resident, or
...ne tyme untill such Graunt be made It shalbe lawfull for the said Robert, and
...e part of them to establish such Lawes, p^rvisions, and Orders as are or shalbe
...he said plantation which shalbe from tyme to tyme executed, and administred by
...the most part of them shall elect, and make choice of **provided** allwaies
...greed on, be not repugnant to the Lawes of England or to the Orders & Constitutions
...further that the said undertakers theire heires, and successors shall forever acknowledg
...and to answeare and doe service unto his Ma^tie or his successors, at his or theire
...Castle, &c and **In Witnes** whereof the said parties to these p^rsents
...the day, and yeares first above written.

might rather have set them further of. And thus I shall end this year.[1]

PATENT FOR CAPE ANNE

This Indenture made the First day of January Anno Dni 1623, And in the Yeares of the Raigne of our Soveraigne Lord JAMES by the grace of God King of England France and Ireland Defender of the Faith &c the One and Twentyth And of Scotland the Seaven and Fyftyth Betweene the right honorable Edmond Lord Sheffeild Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter on thone part And Robert Cushman and Edward Winslowe for them selves, and theire Associates and Planters at Plymouth in New England in America on thother part. Wytnesseth that the said Lord Sheffeild (As well in consideracon that the said Robert and Edward and divers of theire Associates haue already adventured them selves in person, and have likewise at theire owne proper Costs and Charges transported dyvers persons into New England aforesaid And for that the said Robert and Edward and their Associates also intend as well to transport more persons as also further to plant at Plymouth aforesaid, and in other places in New England aforesaid As for the better Advancement and furtherance of the said Planters, and encouragement of the said Vndertakers) Hath Gyven, graunted, assigned, allotted, and appointed And by these p[rese]nts doth Gyve, graunt, assigne, allott, and appoint vnto and for the said Robert and Edward and their Associates As well a certaine Tract of Ground in New England aforesaid lying in Forty-three Degrees or thereabout of Northerly latitude and in a knowne place there comonly called Cape Anne, To-

[1] Smith gave this picture of the Plymouth Plantation in 1624: "There is about an hundred and fourescore persons, some Cattell, but many Swine and Poultry: their Towne containes two and thirty houses, whereof seven were burnt, with the value of five or six hundred pounds in other goods, impailed about halfe a mile, within which within a high Mount, a Fort, with a Watch-tower, well built of stone, lome, and wood, their Ordnance well mounted, and so healthfull, that of the first Planters not one hath died this three yeares." *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters*, *18.

"It appears from Prince that on the 17th of June of this year there was 'born at Plymouth to Governor Bradford, his son William [1624–1704], who afterwards becomes Deputy-Governor of the Colony.' *Annals*, I. 147." DEANE.

"'August 5th. The ninth marriage at New Plymouth is of Mr. Thomas Prence with Mrs. Patience Brewster.' *Ibid.* I. 150. Morton records, in his *Memoriall*, the death of his father, George Morton, which took place in the month of June of this year." DEANE.

gether with the free vse and benefitt as well of the Bay comonly called the Bay of Cape Anne, as also of the Islands within the said Bay And free liberty, to Fish, fowle, hawke, and hunt, truck, and trade in the Lands thereabout, and in all other places in New England aforesaid; whereof the said Lord Sheffeild is, or hath byn possessed, or which haue byn allotted to him the said Lord Sheffeild, or within his Jurisdiccon (not nowe being inhabited, or hereafter to be inhabited by any English) Together also with Fyve hundred Acres of free Land adioyning to the said Bay to be ymployed for publique vses, as for the building of a Towne, Scholes, Churches, Hospitalls, and for the mayntenance of such Ministers, Officers, and Magistrates, as by the said vndertakers, and theire Associates are there already appointed, or which hereafter shall (with theire good liking,) reside, and inhabitt there And also Thirty Acres of Land, over and besides the Fyve hundred Acres of Land, before menconed To be allotted, and appointed for every perticuler person, Young, or old (being the Associates, or servantes of the said vndertakers or their successors) that shall come, and dwell at the aforesaid Cape Anne within Seaven yeares next after the Date hereof, which Thirty Acres of Lande soe appointed to every person as aforesaid, shall be taken as the same doth lye together vpon the said Bay in one entire place, and not stragling in dyvers, or remote parcelles not exceeding an English Mile, and a halfe in length on the Waters side of the said Bay Yeldyng and Paying forever yearely vnto the said Lord Sheffeild, his heires, successors Rent gatherer, or assignes for every Thirty Acres soe to be obteyned, and possessed by the said Robert and Edward theire heires, successors, or associates Twelve Pence of lawfull English money At the Feast of St. Michaell Tharchaungell only (if it be lawfully demaunded) The first payment thereof To begynne ymediately from and after thend and expiracon of the first Seaven yeares next after the date hereof And the said Lord Sheffeild for himself his heires, successors, and assignes doth Covenant, promise, and graunt to and with the said Robert Cushman, and Edward Winslow theire heires, associates, and assignes That they the said Robert, and Edward, and such other persons as shall plant, and contract with them, shall freely and quyetly, haue, hold, possesse, and enioy All such profitts, rights, previlidges, benefittes, Comodities, advantages, and preheminences, as shall hereafter by the labor, search, and diligence of the said Vndertakers their Associates, servantes, or Assignes be obteyned, found out, or made within the said Tract of Ground soe graunted vnto them as aforesaid; Reserving vnto the said Lord Sheffeild his heires, successors, and assignes The one Moyety of all such Mynes as shall be discovered, or found out at any tyme by the said Vndertakers, or

any theire heires, successors, or assignes vpon the Groundes aforesaid And further That it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Robert Cushman, and Edward Winslowe theire heires, associates, and assignes from tyme to tyme, and at all tymes hereafter soe soone as they or theire Assignes haue taken possession, or enterd into any of the said Landes To forbyd, repell, repulse and resist by force of Armes All and every such persons as shall build, plant, or inhabitt, or which shall offer, or make shew to build, plant, or inhabitt within the Landes soe as aforesaid graunted, without the leave, and licence of the said Robert, and Edward or theire assignes And the sayd Lord Sheffeild doth further Covenant, and graunt That vpon a lawfull survey hadd, and taken of the aforesaid Landes, and good informacon gyven to the said Lord Sheffeild his heires, or assignes, of the Meates, Boundes, and quantity of Landes which the said Robert, and Edward their heires, associates, or assignes shall take in and be by them their Associates, Servantes, or Assigns inhabited as aforesaid; he the said Lord Sheffeild his heires, or assignes, at and vpon the reasonable request of the said Vndertakers, or theire Associates, shall and will by good and sufficient Assurance in the Lawe Graunt, enfeoffe, confirm and allott vnto the said Robert Cushman and Edward Winslowe theire Associates, and Assignes All and every the said Landes soe to be taken in within the space of Seaven yeares next after the Date hereof in as larg, ample, and beneficiall manner, as the said Lord Sheffeild his heires, or assignes nowe haue, or hereafter shall have the same Landes, or any of them graunted vnto him, or them; for such rent, and vnder such Covenantes, and Provisoes as herein are conteyned (*mutatis mutandis*) And shall and will also at all tymes hereafter vpon reasonable request made to him the said Lord Sheffeild his heires, or assignes by the said Edward and Robert theire heires, associates, or assignes, or any of them graunt, procure, and make good, lawfull, and sufficient Letters, or other Grauntes of Incorporacon whereby the said Vndertakers, and theire Associates shall haue liberty and lawfull authority from tyme to tyme to make and establish Lawes, Ordynnces, and Constitucons for the ruling, ordering, and governing of such persons as nowe are resident, or which hereafter shalbe planted, and inhabitt there And in the meane tyme vntill such Graunt be made It shalbe lawfull for the said Robert, and Edward theire heires, associates and Assignes by consentes of the greater part of them to Establish such Lawes, Provisions and Ordynnces as are or shalbe by them thought most fitt, and convenient for the governement of the said plantacon which shall be from tyme to tyme executed, and administred by such Officer, or Officers, as the said Vndertakers, or their Associates or the most part of them shall elect, and make choice of Provyded

allwaies That the said Lawes, Provisions, and Ordynnces which are, or shall be agreed on, be not repugnant to the Lawes of England, or to the Orders, and Constitucons of the President and Councell of New England Provyded further That the said Vndertakers theire heires, and successors shall foreuer acknowledg the said Lord Sheffeild his heires and successors, to be theire Chiefe Lord, and to answeare and doe service vnto his Lo^{pp} or his Successors, at his, or theire Court when vpon his, or theire owne Plantacon The same shalbe established, and kept In wytnes whereof the said parties to these present Indentures Interchaungeably haue putt their Handes and Seales The day and yeares first aboue written.

E. Sheffeyld.

Seal *pendent.*

On the back of the parchment is the following attestation: "Sealed and del'd in the presence of John Bulmer, Tho: Belweeld, John Fowller."

Anno Dom: ·1625·

AT the spring of the year, about the time of their Election Court, Oldam came againe amongst them; and though it was a part of his censure for his former mutinye and miscariage, not to returne without leave first obtained, yet in his dareing spirite, he presumed without any leave at all, being also set on and hardend by the ill counsell of others. And not only so, but suffered his unruly passion to rune beyond the limits of all reason and modestie; in so much that some strangers which came with him were ashamed of his outrage, and rebuked him; but all reprofes were but as oyle to the fire, and made the flame of his coller greater. He caled them all to nought, in this his madd furie, and a hundred rebells and traytors, and I know not what. But in conclusion they commited him till he was tamer, and then apointed a gard of musketers which he was to pass throw, and ever one was ordered to give him a thump on the brich, with the but end of his musket,[1] and then was conveied to the water side, wher a boat was ready to cary him away. Then they bid him goe and mende his maners.

Whilst this was in doing, Mr. William Peirce and Mr. Winslow came up from the water side, being come from England; but they were so busie with Oldam, as they never saw them till they came thus upon them. They bid them not spare either him or Liford,

[1] Morton remarks upon this "solemn invention" for enforcing a decree of banishment. Oldham went to Hull (Morton says to Wessagusset), whither Lyford and some of his adherents followed. After a year's stay in that place, Lyford passed over to Cape Ann, and in another year turned towards Virginia. While still on the Bay according to Morton, he "freely executed his office and preached every Lords day, and yet maintained his wife and children foure or five upon his industry there, with the blessing of God and the plenty of the Land, without the helpe of his auditory, in an honest and laudable manner; till hee was wearied and made to leave the Country." *New English Canaan* (Prince Society), 264.

for they had played the vilanes with them. But that I may hear make an end with him, I shall hear once for all relate what befell concerning him in the future, and that breefly. After the removall of his familie from hence, he fell in to some straits, (as some others did,) and aboute a year or more afterwards, towards winter, he intended a vioage for Virginia; but it so pleased God that the barke that caried him, and many other passengers,[1] was in that danger, as they dispaired of life; so as many of them, as they fell to prayer, so also did they begine to examine their consciences [131] and confess shuch sins as did most burthen them. And Mr. Ouldame did make a free and large confession of the wrongs and hurt he had done to the people and church here, in many perticulers, that as he had sought their ruine, so God had now mette with him and might destroy him; yea, he feared they all fared the worce for his sake; he prayed God to forgive him, and made vowes that, if the Lord spard his life, he would become otherwise, and the like. This I had from some of good credite, yet living in the Bay, and were them selves partners in the same dangers on the shoulds of Cap-Codd, and heard it from his owne mouth. It pleased God to spare their lives, though they lost their viage; and in time after wards, Ouldam caried him selfe fairly towards them, and acknowledged the hand of God to be with them, and seemed to have an honourable respecte of them; and so farr made his peace with them, as he in after time had libertie to goe and come, and converse with them, at his pleasure. He went after this to Virginia, and had ther a great sicknes, but recovered and came back againe to his familie in the Bay, and ther lived till some store of people came over. At lenght going a trading in a smale vessell among the Indians, and being weakly mand, upon some quarell they knockt him on the head with a hatched, so as he fell downe dead, and never spake word more. · 2 · litle boys that were his kinsmen were saved, but had some hurte, and the vessell was strangly recovered from the

[1] Bradford wrote "passengengers."

Indeans by another that belonged to the Bay of Massachusets; and this his death was one ground of the Pequente warr which followed.[1]

[1] After his second expulsion Oldham had some thoughts of returning to England. Bradford, in a letter to Cushman dated June 9, gave this warning: "We have rid ourselves of the company of many of those who have been so troublesome unto us, though I fear we are not yet rid of the troubles themselves. I hear Ouldham comes himself into England, the which, if he do, beware of him, for he is very malicious, and much threatens you." *Bradford Letter Book*, 36. He remained at Nantasket, and becoming reconciled to New Plymouth, was to take charge of Thomas Morton, of Ma-re Mount, when the latter was sent prisoner to England in the summer of 1628. Returning to New England late in 1629 or early in 1630, Oldham was admitted a freeman of Boston in 1631, and settling at Watertown, engaged in a trade with the Indians. He had returned with a grant obtained from John Gorges, brother of Robert Gorges, under which he and his associate, John Dorrell, claimed lands lying between Charles and Abousett rivers, embracing most of the territory now occupied by Charlestown, Cambridge and Somerville. This same territory was granted by the Council for New England to the Massachusetts Company, which regarded Oldham's grant as "void in Lawe, yett his Clayme being to this, you may in your Discretion prevent him by causing some to take Possession of the cheife Part thereof." The restlessness and speculative leanings of Oldham were shown in his negotiations with the Massachusetts Company, to whom he caused no little distraction and delay in business, "through the Varyetie of his vast Conceipts of extraordinary Gaine of 3 for one propounded to us, to be made and raised in 3 Yeares, if hee might haue the Managinge of our Stock, preferring to bee contented for his owne Employment, soe hee might have the overplus of the Gaines; with whom, after long Tyme spent in sundry Treatyes, finding him a Man altogeather vnfit for us to deale with, wee have at last left him to his owne Way: And as we are informed, hee, with some others, are provyding a Vessell, and is mynded, as soon as he can despatch, to come for New England, pretending to settle himselfe in Mattachusetts Bay; clayming a Title and Right, by a Grant from Sir Ferdinando Gorges Sonne, which wee are well satisfyed, by good Councell, is voyde in Lawe. He will admit of noe Tearmes of Agreement, vnless wee will leaue him at libertie to trade for Beavor with the Natives, which wee deny to the best of our owne Planters; nether is hee satisfyed to trade himselfe with his owne Stock and Meanes, which wee conceive is so small that it would not much hinder us, but hee doth interest other men, who for ought wee knowe are never likely to be beneficiall to the planting of the country, their owne Particular Profitts (though to the overthrowe of the generall Plantacon) being their cheife Ayme and Intent. . . . We feare, that as he hath bin obstinate and violent in his Opinions heere, so he will persist, and bee ready to drawe a Partie to himselfe there, to the great Hindrance

I am now come to Mr. Lyford. His time being now expired, his censure was to take place. He was so farre from answering their hopes by amendmente in the time, as he had dubled his evill, as is before noted. But first behold the hand of God conceirning him, wherin that of the Psalmist is verified. Psa: 7. 15. He hath made a pitte, and digged it, and is fallen into the pitte he made. He thought to bring shame and disgrace upon them, but in stead therof opens his owne to all the world. For when he was delte with all aboute his second letter, his wife was so affected with his doings, as she could no longer conceaill her greefe and sorrow of minde, but opens the same to one of their deacons and some other of her freinds, and after uttered the same to Mr. Peirce upon his arrivall.[1]

of the comon Quiett; wee have therefore thought fitt to give you Notice of his Disposicon, to the end, you may beware how you meddle with him, as also that you may vse the best Meanes you can to settle an Agreement with the old Planters so as they may not harken to Mr. Oldham's dangerous though vaine Propositions: Wee fynde him a Man soe affected to his owne Opinion as not to be removed from it, neither by Reason nor any Perswasion; and, vnless he may beare sway, and haue all Things carryed to his good Likinge, we haue little Hope of Quiett or comfortable Subsistance where hee shall make his Aboad; and, therefore, if you shall see iust Cause, wee hereby require you and the Councell there, to exercise that Power wee haue, and our Previledges will beare vs out in it, to suppress a Mischiefe before it take too great a Heade, not that wee would wrong him, or any Man that will live peaceably within the Limitts of our Plantacon. But, as the Preseruacon of our Preuiledges will cheifly depend (vnder God) vpon the first Foundacon of our Gouernment, soe if we suffer soe great an Affront as wee fynde is intended towards vs, by the Proceedings of Mr. Oldham, and his Adherents, in our first Beginnings, wee may be sure they will take Hart and bee emboldned to doe us a farr greater iniurie hereafter." *Massachusetts Bay Company to John Endecott*, April 17, 1629. *Mass. Col. Rec.*, I. 386. Oldham was chosen delegate to the Court, from Watertown, and on April 1, 1634, was granted five hundred acres "neare Mount Feakes, on the north-west of Charles Ryver," perhaps under some agreement by which he relinquished his claims under the Gorges patent. *Mass. Col. Rec.*, I. 95, 114.

A patent was issued by the Council for New England, February 12, 1630, to Richard Vines and John Oldham, for a tract of territory on the Saco River, at its mouth. Oldham took no active part in the settlement. *York Deeds*, II. f. 7. It is not known in what year he went to Virginia. As to his death, see vol. II. p. 234.

[1] Lyford's wife was named Sarah. She was married at Charlestown, October 10.



By the King.

A Proclamation for ſetling the Plantation of Virginia.

WHereas the Colonie of *Virginia*, Planted by the hands of Our moſt deare Father of bleſſed memory, for the propagation of Chriſtian Religion, the increaſe of Trade, and the enlarging of his Royall Empire, hath not hitherto proſpered ſo happily, as was hoped and deſired, A great occaſion whereof his late Maieſty conceiued to be, for that the gouernment of that Colony was committed to the Company of Virginia, incorporated of a multitude of perſons of ſeuerall diſpoſitions, amongſt whom the affaires of greateſt moment were, and muſt be ruled by the greater number of Voices; And therefore his late Maieſtie, out of his great Wiſedome, and depth of Iudgement, did deſire to reſume that popular gouernment, and accordingly the Letters Patents of that Incorporation, were by his Highneſſe direction in a Legall courſe queſtioned, and thereupon iudicially repealed, and adiudged to bee voyde; Wherein his Maieſties ayme was onely, to reduce that gouernment into ſuch a right courſe, as might beſt agree with that forme which was held in the reſt of his Royall Monarchy, and was not intended by him, to take away, or impeach the particular Intereſt of any priuate Planter, or Aduenturer, nor to alter the ſame, otherwiſe then ſhould be of neceſſity for the good of the publique: And wheras We continue the like care of thoſe Colonies and Plantations, as Our late deare Father did, and vpon deliberate aduice and conſideration, are of the ſame Iudgement that Our ſaid Father was of, for the gouernment of that Colony of Virginia; Now leſt the apprehenſion of former perſonall differences, which haue heretofore happened (the renuing and continuing whereof Wee vtterly diſallow, and ſtrictly forbid) might diſtract the mindes of the Planters and Aduenturers, or the opinion, that We would neglect thoſe Plantations, might diſcourage men to goe or ſend thither, & ſo hinder the perfecting of that Worke, wherin We hold the honor of Our deare Father deceaſed, and Our owne honour to be deeply engaged; We haue thought fit to declare, and by Our Royal Proclamation to publiſh Our owne Iudgement, and reſolution in theſe things, which by Gods aſſiſtance Wee purpoſe conſtantly to purſue. And therefore Wee doe by theſe preſents publiſh and declare to all Our louing Subiects, and to the whole World, that Wee hold thoſe Territories of Virginia and the Sommer-Ilands, as alſo that of New England, where Our Colonies are already planted, & within the limits & bounds whereof, Our late deare Father, by his Letters Patents, vnder his great Seale of England, remaining of Record, hath giuen leaue and liberty to his Subiects to plant and inhabite, to be a part of Our Royall Empire, deſcended vpon Us and vndoubtedly belonging and appertaining vnto Us, And that We hold Our ſelfe, aſwell bound by Our Regal office to protect, maintaine, and ſupport the ſame, and are ſo reſolued to doe, as any other part of Our Dominions:

And that Our full reſolution is, to the end that there may be one vniforme courſe of Gouernment, in, and through all Our whole Monarchie, That the Gouernment of the Colonie of Vir-

gania shall immediatly depend vpon Our Selfe; and not be committed to any Company or Corporation, to whom it may be proper to truſt matters of Trade and Commerce, but cannot bee fit or safe to communicate the ordering of State-affaires, be they of neuer so meane consequence: And that therefore Wee haue determined, That Our Commiſſioners for thoſe Affaires, ſhall proceed according to the tenor of Our Commiſſion directed vnto them, vntill Wee ſhall declare Our further pleaſure therein. Neuertheleſſe We doe herby declare, That wee are reſolued, with as much conuenient expedition, as Our Affaires of greater importance will giue leaue, to eſtabliſh a Counſell, conſiſting of a few perſons of vnderſtanding and qualitie, to whom We will giue truſt for the immediate care of the Affaires of that Colony, and who ſhall be anſwerable to Vs for their proceedings, and in matters of greater moment, ſhall be ſubordinate and attendant vnto Our Priuie Counſell heere; And that We will alſo eſtabliſh another Counſell to be reſident in Virginia, who ſhall be ſubordinate to Our Counſell here for that Colonie; and that at Our owne charge We will maintaine thoſe publique Officers and Miniſters, and that ſtrength of Men, Munition, and Fortification, as ſhall be fit and neceſſary for the defence of that Plantation, and will by any courſe that ſhall be deſired of Vs, ſettle and aſſure the particular rights and intereſts of euery Planter and Aduenturer, in any of thoſe Territories, which ſhall deſire the ſame, to giue them full ſatisfaction for their quiet and aſſured enioying thereof.

And laſtly, whereas it is agreed on all ſides, that the Tobacco of thoſe plantations of Virginia and the Sommer Iſlands (which is the onely preſent meanes for their ſubſiſting) cannot be managed for the good of the Plantations, vnleſſe it be brought into one hand, whereby the forreigne Tobacco may be carefully kept out, and the Tobacco of thoſe Plantations may yeild a certaine and ready price to the owners thereof; Wee doe hereby declare, That to auoid all differences and contrariety of opinions, which will hardly be reconciled amongſt the Planters and Aduenturers themſelues, We are reſolued to take the ſame into Our owne hands, and by Our ſeruants or Agents for Vs, to giue ſuch prices to the Planters and Aduenturers for the ſame, as may giue them reaſonable ſatisfaction and encouragement; but of the maner thereof, Wee will determine hereafter at better leiſure: And when We ſhall haue concluded the ſame, We ſhall expect, that all Our louing Subiects will readily conforme themſelues thereunto.

And in the meane time, becauſe the importation and vſe of forreigne Tobacco, which is not of the growth of thoſe Plantations, or one of them, will viſibly & aſſuredly vndermine and deſtroy thoſe Plantations, by taking away the meanes of their ſubſiſtence, We doe hereby ſtrictly charge and command, That Our late Proclamation, bearing date the ninth day of April laſt, intituled, (A Proclamation touching Tobacco) ſhall in all points and parts thereof, be duely and ſtrictly obſerued, vpon paine of Our high diſpleaſure, and ſuch further penalties and puniſhments, as by the ſayd Proclamation are to be inflicted vpon the offenders. And We doe hereby aduiſe all Our louing Subiects, and all others whom it may concerne, not to aduenture the breach of our Royall Commandement in any of the premiſſes, We being fully reſolued, vpon no importunitie or interceſſion whatſoeuer, to releaſe or remit the deſerued puniſhment of ſuch, as ſhall dare to offend againſt the ſame, ſeeing We holde not Our Selfe onely, but Our people intereſſed therein.

Giuen at Our Court at White-Hall, the thirteenth day of May, in the firſt yeere of Our Reigne of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland.

God ſaue the King.

Printed at London by Bonham Norton and Iohn Bill,
Printers to the Kings moſt Excellent Maieſtie.
M. DC. XXV.

Which was to this purpose, that she feared some great judgment of God would fall upon them, and upon her, for her husbands cause; now that they were to remove, she feared to fall into the Indeans hands, and to be defiled by them, as he had defiled other women; or some shuch like [132] judgmente, as God had threatened David, 2. Sam. 12. 11. I will raise up evill against ye, and will take thy wives and give them, etc. And upon it showed how he had wronged her, as first he had a bastard by another before they were maried, and she having some inkling of some ill cariage that way, when he was a suitor to her, she tould him what she heard, and deneyd him; but she not certainly knowing the thing, other wise then by some darke and secrete mutterings, he not only stifly denied it, but to satisfie her tooke a solemne oath ther was no shuch matter. Upon which she gave consente, and maried with him; but afterwards it was found true, and the bastard brought home to them. She then charged him with his oath, but he prayed pardon, and said he should els not have had her. And yet afterwards she could keep no maids but he would be medling with them, and some time she hath taken him in the maner, as they lay at their beds feete, with shuch other circumstances as I am ashamed to relate. The woman being a grave matron, and of good cariage all the while she was hear, and spoake these things out of the sorrow of her harte, sparingly, and yet with some further intimations. And that which did most seeme to affecte her (as they conceived) was, to see his former cariage in his repentance, not only hear with the church, but formerly about these things; sheding tears, and using great and sade expressions, and yet eftsone fall into the like things.

Another thing of the same nature did strangly concurr herewith. When Mr. Winslow and Mr. Peirce were come over, Mr. Winslow informed them that they had had the like bickering with

1634, to Edmund Hobart (or Hubbard), and soon removed with him to Hingham. She died June 23, 1649. There is in Hingham a small estuary still known as Lyford's Liking or Weir River.

Lyfords freinds in England, as they had with him selfe and his freinds hear, aboute his letters and accusations in them. And many meetings and much clamour was made by his freinds thereaboute crying out, a minister, a man so godly, to be so esteemed and taxed they held a great skandale, and threated to prosecute law against them for it. But things being referred to a further meeting of most of the adventure[r]s, to heare the case and decide the matters, they agreed to chose ·2· eminente men for moderators in the bussines. Lyfords faction chose Mr. White, a councelor at law, the other parte chose Reve[rend] Mr. Hooker, the minister,[1] and many freinds on both sides were brought in, so as ther was a great assemblie. In the mean time, God in his providence had detected Lyford's evill cariage in Ireland to some freinds amongst the company, who made it knowne to Mr. Winslow; and directed him to ·2· godly and grave witnesses, who would testifie the same (if caled therunto) upon their oath. The thing was this; he being gott into Ireland, had wound him selfe into the esteeme of sundry goodly and zelous professours in those parts, who, having been burthened with the ceremonies in England, found ther some more liberty to their consciences; amongst whom were these ·2· men, which gave [133] this evidence. Amongst the rest of his hearers, ther was a godly yonge man that intended to marie, and cast his affection on a maide which lived their aboute; but desiring to chose in the Lord, and preferred the fear of God before all other things, before he suffered his affection to rune too farr, he resolved

[1] If this was Rev. Thomas Hooker, later of New England, he was at this time rector of the parish of Esher, in Surrey, about sixteen miles from London. Already a nonconformist in opinion Hooker accepted this modest charge, and exerted great influence in the household of one Francis Drake, in whose gift the living lay. Walker, *Thomas Hooker*, 34–38. It is suggestive that the adherents of Lyford should place his case in the hands of a lawyer, while his opponents rested on a clergyman, and, if the identification suggested be a true one, on a non-conforming clergyman, who would have been most objectionable to the authorities before whom the question might have been carried.

to take Mr. Lyfords advise and judgmente of this maide, (being the minister of the place,) and so broak the matter unto him; and he promised faithfully to informe him, but would first take better knowledg of her, and have private conferance with her; and so had sundry times; and in conclusion commended her highly to the yong man as a very fitte wife for him. So they were maried togeather; but some time after mariage the woman was much troubled in mind, and afflicted in conscience, and did nothing but weepe and mourne, and long it was before her husband could get of her what was the cause. But at length she discovered the thing, and prayed him to forgive her, for Lyford had overcome her, and defiled her body before marriage, after he had comended him unto her for a husband, and she resolved to have him, when he came to her in that private way. The circumstances I forbear, for they would offend chast ears to hear them related, (for though he satisfied his lust on her, yet he indea[v]oured to hinder conception.) These things being thus discovered, the womans husband tooke some godly freinds with him, to deale with Liford for this evill. At length he confest it, with a great deale of seeming sorrow and repentance, but was forct to leave Irland upon it, partly for shame, and partly for fear of further punishmente, for the godly withdrew them selves from him upon it; and so comming into England unhapily he was light upon and sente hither.

But in this great assembly, and before the moderators, in handling the former matters aboute the letters, upon provocation, in some heate of replie to some of Lyfords defenders, Mr. Winslow let fall these words, That he had delte knavishly; upon which on of his freinds tooke hold, and caled for witneses, that he cald a minister of the gospell knave, and would prosecute law upon it, which made a great tumulte, upon which (to be shorte) this matter broke out, and the witnes were produsced, whose persons were so grave, and evidence so plaine, and the facte so foule, yet delivered in shuch modest and chast terms, and with shuch circumstances, as strucke

all his freinds mute, and made them all ashamed; insomuch as the moderators with great gravitie declared that the former matters gave them cause enough to refuse him and to deal with him as they had done, but these made him unmeete for ever to bear ministrie any more, what repentance soever he should pretend; with much more to like effecte, and so wisht his freinds to rest quiete. Thus was this mater ended.

From hence Lyford wente to Natasco, in the Bay of the Massachusets, with some other of his freinds with him, wher Oldom allso lived.[1] From thence he removed to Namkeke, since called

[1] It is not known when Roger Conant came to New England, possibly in the *Jonathan of Plymouth*, in which David Thomson was a passenger. According to his petition of 1671, he was in New Plymouth, in March, 1623, though he is not named in the land allotment of 1624. Deane conjectures that he may have been one of the ten joined to Oldham, whose names do not appear. He is believed to have followed Lyford to Nantasket, and about the year 1625 was invited, with Lyford and Oldham, to join the settlement made in 1623–24 at Cape Ann, by the Dorchester Company. Conant was to be the overseer or governor of the settlement, Lyford the minister, and Oldham, the trader with the Indians. One John Conant, of Lymington, a brother of Roger and an uncle of John Conant rector of Exeter College, Oxford (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XI.465), was of the Dorchester Company, and this accounted for the appointment. Roger Conant, described by Hubbard as "a religious, sober and prudent gentleman," was born (as is supposed in 1591) at Budleigh, a market-town of Devonshire, near the sea, and claimed to have been the first to have a house in Salem (Naumkeag), whither he removed in 1626; and "when, in the infancy thereof, it was in great hazard of being deserted, I was the means, through grace assisting me, to stop the flight of those few that then were here with me, and that by my utter denial to go away with them who would have gone either for England, or mostly for Virginia, but, thereupon, stayed to the hazard of our lives." With him the adventurers employed John Balch, John Woodberry, and Peter Palfrey, and White promised Conant and these three men, "whom he knew to be honest and prudent men," that if they would stay at Naumkeag, "he would provide a Patent for them, and likewise send them whatever they would write for, either men, or provision, or goods wherewith to trade with the Indians. Answer was returned that they would all stay, on those terms, entreating that they might be encouraged accordingly. Yet it seems before they received any return according to their desires, the three last mentioned began to recoil, and repenting of their engagement to stay at Naumkeag, for fear of the Indians and other inconveniences, resolved rather to go all to Virginia, especially because Mr. Lyford, their minister, upon a loving invitation, was thither bound." Hubbard means that

To the honored magistrats & deputies of the generall court

The humbell petition and request of Roger Conant, planter in new England this sith forthe eight yeers and three monthes, wch was with the first and (if the truth may safely say the very first) under god, that was in this wilderness an instrument to set a worke one, of founding and furthering the plantation of this colony. wch hath since growne to a firme stonding and prosperous state, and now againe to set the unparalled groweth thereof forwards the great blessing of our great god.

I did put up a former request concerning the change of the name of our town of Salem, and what your worshipps pleasure is therein I do not fully know. I had thought and purposed to move your worshipps that you would be pleased to grant me some small portion of land in some remote place where it may be found without prejudice, and this I thought to do by word of mouth if I had come before your worshipps as I purposed I should have done, and was hartily sorry to put up two requests in one paper wherefore if I have erred and forgot my selfe in this matter pardon my indiscretion, who am old & weake, and be pleased now, out of your favorable respect, to grant & give me some portion of land as shall seeme meet & good in your sight. god hath given me children & grandchildren, so that although I am old and cannot improve land my selfe yet my children can, and so both they & my selfe shall be ingaged for your loves, and I hope our poor prayers shall continuall for the blessing of god on your persons and weighty agitations and for the prosperity of this whole collony and country of new England, dated this first of the fowrth month 1671

In answ. to this petition the magists judge meet to grant the petitioner two hundred acres of land where it is to be found out free from any former grant. Consulting Edward Rawson Secrē

2 June 1671

Your humble petitioner & servant
Roger Conant

Confirmed to Mr Roger Conant by Sir Edmund Andros Knt Governor &c. Given at Fort James in New York on the Island of Nassau &c. the 12th day of April in the 29th year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord Charles the Second by the Grace of God of England Scotland France & Ireland King Defender of the Faith &c. Annoque Domini 1677

By his Honrs Command
Matthias Nicolls Secry

PETITION OF ROGER CONANT, 1671.

Salem; but after ther came some people over, wheather for hope of greater profite, or what ends els I know not, he left his freinds that followed him,[1] and went from thence to Virginia, wher he shortly after dyed, and so I leave him to the Lord. His wife afterwards returned againe to this cuntry, and thus much of this matter. [134]

This storme being thus blowne over, yet sundrie sad effects followed the same; for the Company of Adventurers broake in peeces here upon, and the greatest parte wholy deserted the colony in regarde of any further supply, or care of their subsistance.[2] And not only so, but some of Lyfords and Oldoms freinds, and their

the settlers at Cape Ann went with Lyford, for the three remained with Conant, and sent Woodberry to England to obtain supplies. He did not succeed in his wish, and "about this time" the Council for New England granted the patent to the Massachusetts Bay Company. Hubbard, *History*, 107, 108. *See* vol. II. p. 5. If his dates are correct, Conant remained at Naumkeag about two years. White complained of the conduct of his "land men" (*infra*, p. 422), some forty-six in number.

Weston in his stay left his only child Elizabeth with Moses Maverick, of Marblehead, and it was from Maverick's house that Roger Conant married her after 1644. Conant took his wife to Ireland, where she joined a church at Cork, and thence returned to New England before 1661.

[1] Hubbard intimates that these followed Lyford "out of dislike of the rigid principles of Separation that were maintained" in New Plymouth. *History*, 116.

[2] We, wrote Bradford, "are now left and forsaken of our adventurers, who will neither supply us with necessaries for our subsistence, nor suffer others that would be willing; neither can we be at liberty to deal with others, or provide for ourselves, but they keep us tied to them, and yet they will be loose from us; they have not only cast us off, but entered into particular course of trading, and have by violence, and force, taken at their pleasure, our possession at Cape Ann. Traducing us with unjust, and dishonest clamours abroad, disturbing our peace at home; and some of them threatening, that if ever we grow to any good estate they will then nip us in the head. Which discouragements do cause us to slack our diligence, and care to build and plant, and cheerfully perform our other employments, not knowing for whom we work, whether friends or enemies." He asked that the Council would take such order "as we may be free from them; and they come to a division with us, that we and ours may be delivered from their evil intents against us." *To the Council for New England*, June 28, 1625. *Bradford Letter Book*, 38. The results of the uncertainty are also described in Bradford's letter to Cushman, June 9, 1625. *Ib.* 36.

adherents, set out a shipe on fishing, on their owne accounte, and getting the starte of the ships that came to the plantation, they tooke away their stage, and other necessary provisions that they had made for fishing at Cap-Anne the yeare before, at their great charge, and would not restore the same, excepte they would fight for it. But the Gov[erno]r sent some of the planters to help the fisher men to build a new one, and so let them keepe it.[1] This shipe also brought them some small supply, of little value; but they made so pore a bussines of their fishing, (neither could these men make them any returne for the supply sente,) so as, after this year, they never looked more after them.[2]

[1] This stage was the property of the Dorchester adventurers, but the Plymouth people doubtless retained some interest in it. For in the following year it became a matter of controversy, as Hubbard relates: "In one of the fishing voyages about the year 1625, under the charge and command of one Mr. Hewes, employed by some of the West Country merchants, there arose a sharp contest between the said Hewes and the people of New Plymouth, about a fishing stage, built the year before about Cape Anne by Plymouth men, but was now, in the absence of the builders made use of by Mr. Hewes's company, which the other, under the conduct of Captain Standish, very eagerly and peremptorily demanded: for the Company of New Plymouth, having themselves obtained a useless Patent for Cape Anne about the year 1623, sent some of the ships, which their Adventurers employed to transport passengers over to them, to make fish there; for which end they had built a stage there, in the year 1624. The dispute grew to be very hot, and high words passed between them, which might have ended in blows, if not in blood and slaughter, had not the prudence and moderation of Mr. Roger Conant, at that time there present, and Mr. Peirse's interposition, that lay just by with his ship, timely prevented. For Mr. Hewes had barricadoed his company with hogsheads on the stagehead, while the demandants stood upon the land, and might easily have been cut off; but the ship's crew, by advice, promising to help them build another, the difference was thereby ended." *History*, 110.

[2] In 1625 the Dorchester Company sent out at heavy cost the Flemish fly-boat, the *Charity*, and a third boat, "a small Vessell of fortie tons which carried kine with other provisions. . . . The great ship being commanded by a uery able Master, hauing passed on about two hundred leagues in her Voyage, founde her selfe so leake by the Carpenters fault, (that looked not well to her Calking) that she bare up the Helme and returned for *Waymouth*, and having unladen her provisions and mended her leake, set her selfe to Sea againe; resolving to take aduice of the Windes whether to passe on her former Voyage or to turne into *New-found-land*, which she did, by reason that the time was so far spent, that the Master and Company despaired of doing



A View of a Stage, also ye manner of Fishing for, Curing & Drying of Cod at NEW FOUND LAND. A. The Habit of the Fishermen. B. The Line. C. They manner of Fishing. D. The Dressers of the Fish. E. The Trough into which they throw the Cod when dressed. F. Salt Boxes. G. The manner of carrying the Cod. H. The Cleansing of the Cod. I. A Press to extract the Oyl from the Cods Livers. K. A Cask to receive the Water and Blood that comes from the Livers. L. another Cask to receive the Oyl. M. The manner of drying the Cod.

Also by this ship, they, some of them, sent (in the name of the rest) certaine reasons of their breaking of from the plantation, and some tenders, upon certaine conditions, of reuniting againe.[1]

any good in *New-England;* where the Fish falls in two or three months sooner then at *New-found-land.* There she tooke Fish good store and much more then she could lade home: the overplus should have beene sold and deliuered to some sacke [smack?] or other sent to take it in there, if the Voyage had beene well managed.

"But that could not be done by reason that the ship before she went was not certaine where to make her Fish; by this accident it fell out that a good quantitie of the Fish she tooke was cast away, and some other part was brought home in another Ship. At the returne of the Ships that yeare, Fish by reason of our warres with *Spaine* falling to a very low rate; the *Company* endevoured to send the greater Ship for *France:* but she being taken short with a contrary Winde in the West-Country, and intelligence given in the meane time that those Markets were over-laid, they were enforced to bring her backe againe, and to sell her Fish at home as they might. Which they did, and with it the Fish of the smaller Ship, the *New-England* Fish about ten shillings the hundred by tale or there about; the *New-found-land* Fish at six shillings foure pence the hundred, of which was well nigh eight pence the hundred charge raised vpon it after the Ships returne: by this reason the Fish which at a Market in all likely-hood might have yeelded well nigh two thousand pounds, amounted not with all the Provenue of the Voyage to above eleaven hundred pounds.

"Vnto these losses by Fishing were added two other no small disaduantages, the one in the Country by our *Land-Men,* who being ill chosen and ill commanded, fell into many disorders and did the *Company* little seruice: The other by the fall of the price of Shipping, which was now abated to more then the one halfe, by which meanes it came to passe, that our Ships which stood vs in little lesse then twelue hundred pounds, were sold for foure hundred and eighty pounds.

"The occasions and meanes then of wasting this stocke are apparently these. First, the ill choice of the place for fishing; the next, the ill carriage of our men at Land, who having stood vs in two yeares and a halfe in well nigh one thousand pound charge, never yeelded one hundred pound profit. The last the ill sales of Fish and Shipping. By all which the *Aduenturers* were so far discouraged, that they abandoned the further prosecution of this Designe, and tooke order for the dissoluing of the *Company* on Land, and sold away their Shipping and other Provisions." White, *The Planters Plea,* *72.

[1] The effect of such letters on the planters led Bradford to write to Cushman, June 9, 1625: "Our people will never agree, any way again to unite with the Company; who have cast them off with such reproach and contempt; and also returned their bills, and all debts upon their heads. But as for those our loving friends, who have, and still do stick to us, and are deeply engaged for us, and are most careful of our goods, for our parts we will ever be ready to do any thing, that shall be thought equal and mete." *Bradford Letter Book,* 36.

The which because they are longe and tedious, and most of them aboute the former things allready touched, I shall omite them; only giving an instance in one, or tow. 1. reason, they charged them for dissembling with his majestie in their petition, and with the adventurers about the French discipline, etc.[1] 2ly, for receive[ing] a man[2] into their church, that in his confession renownced all, universall, nationall, and diocessan churches, etc., by which (say they) it appears, that though they deney the name of Brownists, yet they practiss the same, etc. And therfore they should sinne against God in building up shuch a people.

1. Then they adde: Our dislikes thus laid downe, that we may goe on in trade with better contente and credite, our desires are as followeth. First, that as we are partners in trade, so we may be in Gov[ernmen]t ther, as they [the] patente doth give us power, etc.

2. That the French discipline may be practised in the plantation, as well in the circumstances theirof, as in the substance; wherby the scandallous name of the Brownists, and other church differences, may be taken away.

3. Lastly, that Mr. Robinson and his company may not goe over to our plantation, unless he and they will reconcile them selves to our church by a recantation under their hands, etc.

Their answer in part to these things was then as foloweth.

Whereas you taxe us for dissembling with his majestie and the adventurers aboute the French discipline, you doe us wrong, for we both hold and practice the discipline of the French and other reformed churches, (as they have published the same in the Harmony of Confessions,[3]) according to our means, in effecte and sub-

[1] *Supra*, p. 80.

[2] This was Lyford himselfe. — BRADFORD. This is wholly inconsistent with Morton's statement as to Lyford's use of the Book of Common Prayer.

[3] "*An Harmony of the Confessions of the Faith of the Christian and Reformed Churches, with verie shorte Notes, translated out of Latine into English.* Issued in 1586, it was reprinted in 1643." DEANE.

The student may consult *Harmonia Confessionum. The Harmony of Protestant*

stance. But wheras you would tye us to the French discipline in every circumstance, you derogate from the libertie we have in Christ Jesus. The Apostle Paule would have none to follow him in any thing but wherin he follows Christ, much less ought any Christian or church in the world to doe it. The French may erre, we may erre, and other churches may erre, and doubtless doe in many circumstances. That honour therfore belongs only to the infallible word of God, and pure Testamente of Christ, to be propounded and followed as the only rule and pattern for direction herin to all churches and Christians. And it is too great arrogancie for any man, or church [135] to thinke that he or they have so sounded the word of God to the bottome, as precislie to sett downe the churches discipline, without error in substance or circumstance, as that no other without blame may digress or differ in any thing from the same. And it is not difficulte to shew, that the reformed churches differ in many circumstances amongest them selves.

The rest I omitte, for brevities sake, and so leave to prosecute these men or their doings any further, but shall returne to the rest of their freinds of the company, which stuck to them.

And I shall first inserte some part of their letters as followeth; for I thinke it best to render their minds in ther owne words.[1]

Confessions. Translated from the Latin by Peter Hall. A new edition was published in 1842. It contains the Confessions from that of Augsburg, 1530, to the Judgment of the Synod of Dort, 1619. Some of the differences in practice are named on p. 80, *supra*.

[1] The letter which follows is introduced in the *Letter Book* by Bradford with the following note: "Now follows the first letters we received after the breach; for Mr. Thornell and the rest never replied nor writ more unto us, being partly ashamed of what they had done and written." This may give the name of the first signer of the letter of complaint from the faction of the Company that broke with those of New Plymouth. Of Matthew Thornhill nothing is known beyond his connection with New Plymouth as an adventurer.

This letter is given in greater fulness in *Bradford Letter Book*, 29. Marks of omission [. . .] are inserted to show the notable differences, and the omitted matter is inserted in the notes.

A

IVST AND NECESSARIE

APOLOGIE

OF CERTAIN CHRISTIANS,

no leſſe contumeliouſly then commonly called

Brownists or Barrowists.

By Mr. IOHN ROBINSON, Paſtor of the Engliſh Church at Leyden, firſt publiſhed in Latin in his and the Churches name over which he was ſet, after tranſlated into Engliſh by himſelf. and now republiſhed for the ſpeciall and common good of our own Countrimen.

Pſal. 41. 2.

O *Bleſſed is he that prudently attendeth to the poore-weakling.*

Printed in the yeere of our Lord 1625.

To our loving freinds, etc.

Though the thing we feared be come upon us, and the evill we strove against have overtaken us, yet we cannot forgett you, nor our freindship and fellowship which togeather we have had some years; wherin though our expressions have been small, yet our harty affections towards you (unknown by face) have been no less then to our nearest freinds, yea, to our owne selves. And though this your freind Mr. Winslow can tell you the state of things hear, [. . .][1] yet least we should seeme to neglecte you, to whom, by a wonderfull providence of God, we are so nearly united, we have thought good once more to write unto you,[. . .][2] to let you know what is here befallen, and the resons of it; as also our purposes and desires toward you for hereafter.

The former course for the generalitie here is wholy dissolved from what it was; and wheras you and we were formerly sharers and partners, in all viages and deallings, this way is now no more, but you and we are left to bethinke our sellves what course to take in the future, that your lives and our monies be not lost. [. . .][3]

The reasons and causes of this allteration have been these. First and mainly, the many losses and crosses at sea, and abuses of sea-men, which have caused us to rune into so much charge, debts, and ingagementes, as our estates and means were not able to goe on without impoverishing our selves,[. . .][4] except our estates had been greater, and our associates cloven beter unto us. 2ly, as here hath been a faction and siding amongst us now more then ·2· years, so now there is an utter breach and sequestration amongst us, and in tow parts of us full dissertion and forsaking of you, without any intente or purpose of medling more with you. And though we are perswaded the maine

[1] "and what hath befallen us;"

[2] "and the arguments of our letter must consist of these three points, first to shew you what is here befallen; 2dly, the reason and cause of that which is fallen, 3dly, our purposes," etc.

[3] "And this, as ourselves first saw, so have we begun to practice, as we thought best for your and our safety for hereafter; and it standeth you no less in hand seriously to consider what is best to do, that you may both continue good conscience with God and procure your best safety in this world."

[4] "and much hindering if not spoiling our trades and callings here."

cause of this their doing is wante of money, (for neede wherof men use to make many excuses,) yet other things are pretended, as that you are Brownists, etc. [. . .][1]

Now what use you or we ought to make of these things, it remaineth to be considered, for we know the hand of God to be in all these things, and no doubt he would admonish some thing therby, and to looke what is amise.[2] And allthough it be now too late for us or you to prevent and stay these things, yet is it not to late to exercise patience, wisdom, and conscience in bearing them, and in caring [carrying] our selves in and under them for the time to come. [136]

And as we our selves stand ready to imbrace all occasions that may tend to the furthrance of so hopefull a work, rather admiring of what is, then grudging for what is not; so it must rest in you to make all good againe. And if in nothing else you can be approved, yet let your honestie and conscience be still approved, and lose not one jote of your innocencie, amids your crosses and afflictions. And surly if you upon this allteration behave your selves wisly, and goe on fairly, as men whose hope is not in this life, you shall need no other weapon to wound your adversaries; for when your righteousnes is revealled as the light, they shall cover their faces with shame, that causlesly have sought your overthrow. [. . .][3]

[1] "condemning all other churches and persons, but yourselves and those in your way, and you are contentious cruel and hard hearted, among your neighbors and towards such as in all points both civil and religious, jump not with you. And that you are negligent, careless," etc. The rest of the omitted part is given in the two notes on p. 392, *supra*.

[2] "admonish us of something which is not yet looked to and taken to heart as it should." *Letter Book*.

[3] "And although (we hope) you need not our council in these things, having learned of God how to behave yourselves, in all estates in this world, yet a word for your advice and direction, to spur those forward, which we hope run already.

"And first, seeing our generality here is dissolved, let yours be the more firm; and do not you like carnal people (which run into inconveniencies and evils by examples) but rather be warned by your harms, to cleave faster together hereafter; take heed of long and sharp disputes and oppositions, give no passage to the waters, no not a tittle; let not hatred or heartburning be harboured in the breast of any of you one moment, but forgive and forget all former failings and abuses, and renew your love and friendship

Now we thinke it but reason, that all shuch things as ther [these] apertaine to the generall, be kept and preserved togeather, and rather increased dayly, then any way be dispersed or imbeseled away for any

together daily. There is often more sound friendship and sweeter fellowship in afflictions and crosses than in prosperity and favours; and there is reason for it, because envy flieth away when there is nothing but necessities to be looked on; but it is always a bold *guest* where prosperity shews itself.

"And although we here which are hedged about with so many favours and helps in worldly things and comforts; forget friendship and love and fall out often times for trifles; yet you must not do so, but must in these things turn a new leaf and be of another spirit. We here can fall out with a friend and lose him today, and find another tomorrow, but you cannot do so, you have no such choice, you must make much of them you have, and count him a very good friend, which is not a professed enemy. We have a trade and custom of tale bearing, whispering and changing of old friends for new, and these things with us are incurable. But you which do as it were begin a new world and lay the foundation of sound piety and humanity for others to follow, must suffer no such weeds in your garden, but nip them in the head, and cast them out forever; and must follow peace and study quietness, having fervent love amongst yourselvès as a perfect and entire bond to uphold you when all else fails you. And although we have written much to you heretofore to provoke to union and love as the only way to make you stand, and without which all would come to nothing; so now you are much more to be provoked thereunto, since you are left, rather to be spectators to the eye than objects to the hand, and stand most need one of another, at home when foreign help is so much decayed and weakened.

"And if any amongst you, for all that, have still a withdrawing heart, and will be all to himself, and nothing to his neighbour, let him think of these things. 1st, The Providence of God in bringing you there together. 2d, His marvellous preserving you from so many dangers, the particulars whereof you know and must never forget. 3d, The hopes that yet are of effecting somewhat for yourselves and more for your posterity if hand join in hand. 4th, The woful estate of him which is alone, especially in a wilderness. 5th, The succour and comfort which the generality can daily afford, having built houses, planted corn, framed boats, erected salt works, obtained cattle, swine, and pulling, together with the diverse varieties of trades and faculties employed by sea and land, the gains of every one stretching itself unto all whilst they are in the general: but such as withdraw themselves tempting God and despising their neighbours, must look for no share or part in any of these things; but as they will be a commonwealth alone, so alone they must work, and alone they must eat, and alone they must be sick and die, or else languishing under the frustration of their vain hopes, alone return to England, and there to help all cry out of the country and the people; counting the one fruitless and the other merciless; when indeed their own folly, pride, and idleness is the cause of all which never weigh either the providence of God, the



By the King.

A Proclamation for a generall and publike Thankesgiuing to Almighty God, for his great mercy in ſtaying his hand, and aſſwaging the late fearefull Viſitation of the Plague.

WHereas the Kings moſt Excellent Maieſty, vpon the fearefull increaſe, and ſpreading of the late Infection of the Plague, in the Imperial City of this Kingdome, and places adiacent, and from thence in the more remote places of the Land, out of his moſt Religious conſideration of the immediate hand of God therein, did command, that all his people throughout this whole Realme, ſhould by faſting & prayer humble themſelues vnto Almighty God, and by their true repentance and humiliation ſeeke to diuert his Wrath, and fearefull Viſitation; And his Maieſty himſelfe in his owne Perſon did giue a memorable example thereof to all his people, which Religious duety, being accordingly obſerued, and for diuers moneths continued, it hath pleaſed God of his abundant mercie and goodneſſe to ſtay his hand, and beyond the policie and hopes of man, to withdraw his Rod, and almoſt wholly to remoue the ſame.

Now the Kings Maieſtie, with all poſſible Thankes, acknowledging the gracious mercie of the Diuine Maieſtie, towards Himſelfe and his people, and acknowledging alſo, that they are not worthy of future fauours, who are not truly thankful for benefits already receiued, hath thought fit, that, by his Royal authority, there ſhould be a generall and publike Thankeſgiuing to God throughout this whole Kingdome, for ſo great & gracious a deliuerance. And therefore he doth hereby command, and publiſh his Royal pleaſure to be, That vpon Sunday, the nine & twentieth of this preſent moneth of January, in, and throughout the Cities of London and Weſtminſter, and places adiacent; And vpon the nineteenth day of February next, in all other places of this Realme, there ſhall be celebrated a publike Thankeſgiuing to God for this ſo great mercie.

The manner and forme whereof, ſhall be directed by a ſmall Booke, which ſhall to that purpoſe be compoſed by the Reuerend Biſhops, by his Maieſties expreſſe direction, and by them ſhal be ſent and diſperſed through their ſeuerall Dioceſſe; whereof his Maieſties pleaſure is, that all his louing Subiects ſhall take notice, and religiouſly, with that deuotion which appertaineth to ſo pious a Worke, ſhall ſolemnize the ſame.

Giuen at Our Court at White-Hall, the two and twentieth day of Ianuary, in the firſt yeere of Our Reigne of Great Britaine, France and Ireland.

God ſaue the King.

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private ends or intents whatsoever. And after your necessities are served, you gather togeather such commodities as the cuntrie yeelds, and send them over to pay debts and clear ingagements hear, which are not less then 1400*li.* [. . .][1] And we hope you will doe your best to free our ingagements, etc. [. . .][2] Let us all indeavor to keep a faire and

conscience of their duty, nor care for their neighbours, or themselves, further than to grate upon their friends; as if other men owed them all things, and they owed no man any thing. 6th, The conscience of making restitution, and paying those debts and charges which hath befallen to bring you there, and send those things to you which you have had, must hold you together; and for him that withdraws himself from the general; we look upon him, as upon a man, who, having served his turn, and fulfilled his desire, cares not what becomes of others, neither maketh conscience of any debt, or duty at all, but thinketh to slide away under secret colours, to abuse and deceive his friends; and against whom we need say little, seeing the Lord will never cease to curse his course.

"And albeit, the company here as a company hath lost you; you know when Saul left David, yea, and pursued him, yet David did not abuse his allegiance and loyalty to him, no more should you; the evil of us here, cannot justify any evil in you, but you must still do your duty, though we neglect ours. 2ndly, Indeed we are persuaded, it is in the most of the adventurers rather want of power, than will, that maketh them break off; they having gone as far as they can in the business, and are as sorry that they cannot go forward as you are offended that they do not go forward, yea, and the pretences of those which have the most colours, we are persuaded, proceed more from weakness of the purse, than fear of any thing else; and the want of money is such a grievous sickness now a-days, as that it makes men rave and cry out, they cannot tell for what. 3dly, And in a word we think," etc.

[1] "All which debts, besides adventures, have been made about general commodities and implements, and for which divers of us stand more or less engaged. And we dare say of you, that you will do," etc.

[2] "that you will do the best you can to free us, and unburden us, that for your sakes, and help, are so much hazarded in our estates, and names. 5thly, If there be any that will withdraw himself from the general, as he must not have, nor use any of the general's goods, so it is but reason that he give sufficient security for payment of so much of the debts as his part cometh to; which how much it will come to, upon a person, or family is quickly counted; and since we require but men's faithful endeavours, and cannot obtain them, let none think much if we require other security than fair words and promises, of such men as make no more conscience of their words and ways.

"If any amongst you shall object against us, either our long delays in our supplies heretofore, or our too much jollity in spending sometimes at our meetings more than perhaps needed; that will prove but trifling, for we could also find fault with the idle-

honest course, and see what time will bring forth, and how God in his providence will worke for us. We still are perswaded you are the people that must make a plantation [. . .][1] in those remoate places when all others faile and returne. And your experience of Gods providence and preservation of you is shuch as we hope your harts will not faile you, though your freinds should forsake you (which we our selves shall not doe whilst we live, so long as your honestie so well appereth). Yet surly help would arise from some other place whilst you waite on God, with uprightnes, though we should leave you allso. [. . .][2]

And lastly be you all intreated to walke circumspectly, and carry your selves so uprightly in all your ways, as that no man may make just exceptions against you. And more espetially that the favor and counte-

ness and sloth of many amongst you, which have made all the rest go forward slowly, as also we could find fault with your liberality, and largeness also, when it might have been otherwise; but all such matters must still be left to the discretion and conscience of either side, knowing that where many have a hand in such business, there will not want some, that are too timerous and slack; as also that in matters of note, something must be done for form and credit. And for ourselves we think there hath hardly in our days; been a business, of this note, and fame, carried by Londoners, with twice the expence in by matters that this hath been; and therefore let each man rather seek to mend himself, than hastily to cast in objections against others.

"In a word, since it thus still falleth out, that all things between us, are as you see, let us," etc.

[1] "and erect a city."

[2] "To conclude, as you are especially now to renew your love one to another, so we advise you, as your friends in these particulars. First let all sharpness, reprehensions, and corrections, of opposite persons, be still used sparingly, and take no advantage against any, for any by respects; but rather wait for their mending amongst you, than to mend them yourselves by thrusting them away, of whom there is any hope of good to be had. 2d. Make your corporation as formal as you can, under the name of the Society of Plymouth in New England, allowing some peculiar privileges, to all the members thereof, according to the tenure of the patents. 3d. Let your practices and course in religion in the church, be made complete, and full; let all that fear God amongst you, join themselves thereunto without delay; and let all the ordinances of God be used completely in the church without longer waiting upon uncertainties, or keeping the gap open for opposites. 4ly. Let the worship and service of God be strictly kept on the Sabbath, and both together, and asunder let the day be sanctified; and let your care be seen on the working days every where and upon all occasions to set forward the service of God."

nance of God may be so toward you, as that you may find abundante joye and peace even amids tribulations, that you may say with David, Though my father and mother should forsake me, yet the Lord would take me up.[1]

We have sent you hear some catle,[2] cloath, hose, shoes, leather, etc., but in another nature then formerly, as it stood us in hand to doe; we have committed them to the charge and custody of Mr. Allerton and Mr. Winslow, as our factours,[3] at whose discretion they are to be sould, and commodities to be taken for them, as is fitting. [. . .][4] And by how much the more they will be chargable unto you, [. . .][5] the bet-[ter] they had need to be husbanded, etc. [. . .][6] Goe on, good freinds, comfortably, pluck up your spirits, and quitte your selves like men in all your difficulties, that not withstanding all displeasure and threats of men, yet the work may goe on you are aboute, and not be neglected. Which is so much for the glorie of God, and the furthrance of our countrie-men, as that a man may with more comforte [137] spend his life in it, then live the life of Methusala, in wasting the plentie of a

[1] Ps. xxvii. 10.

[2] Among the cattle was a heifer, a gift from Mr. Sherley to the plantation, "to begin a stock for the poor," of which more will be learned in later years. Also a bull and three or four jades, "to be sold unto you." This is the first mention of the sending of a horse to New England. *Cushman to Bradford*, December 22, 1624. *Bradford Letter Book.*

[3] Cushman enigmatically wrote to Bradford, "It was fitter for many reasons to make them factors than yourself, as I hope you will easily conceive." When Cushman came to New Plymouth in 1621 he brought with him a son, Thomas, then aged fourteen, whom he entrusted to Bradford, under whose care he was brought up, to succeed to the Eldership in 1649. He married Mary, a daughter of Isaac Allerton.

[4] "And it standeth you in need the more carefully to look to, and make much of all your commodities," etc.

[5] "and though we hope you shall not want things necessary, so we think the harder they are got, the more carefully they will be husbanded."

[6] "Good friends, as you buy them, keep a decorum in distributing them, and let none have varieties, and things for delight, when others want for their mere necessities, and have an eye rather on your ill deservings at God's hand, than upon the failings of your friends towards you; and wait on him with patience, and good conscience; rather admiring his mercies, (than repining at his crosses,) with the assurance of faith, that what is wanting here shall be made up in glory a thousand fold."

tilled land, or eating the fruite of a growne tree. Thus [. . .][1] with harty salutations to you all, and harty prayers for you all, we lovingly take our leaves, this ·18· of Des: 1624.

Your assured freinds to our powers,
J. S. W. C. T. F. R. H. etc.[2]

By this leter it appears in what state the affairs of the plantation stood at this time. These goods they bought, but they were at deare rates, for they put ·40· in the hundred upon them, for profite and adventure, outward bound; and because of the venture of the paiment homeward, they would have .30·*li*[3] in the ·100· more, which was in all ·70· per cent; a thing thought unreasonable by some, and too great an oppression upon the poore people, as their case stood. The catle were the best goods, for the other being ventured ware, were neither at the best (some of them) nor at the best prises. Sundrie of their freinds disliked these high rates, but comming from many hands, they could not help it.

They sent over also ·2· ships on fishing on their owne acounte; the one was the pinass that was cast away the last year hear in the

[1] "having not time to write further unto you, leaving other things to the relation of our friends;"

[2] The *Letter Book* of Bradford gives four of the signers, "James Sherley (sick), William Collier, Thomas Fletcher and Robert Holland," but adds, "This letter was wrote with Mr. Cushman's hand; and it is likely was penned by him at the others' request." Sherley was said to be at the point of death, which led Cushman, in a letter to Bradford, to speak of his character. "If God does again raise him up, he will be more for you (I am persuaded) than ever he was. His unfeigned love towards us hath been such as I cannot indeed express; and though he be a man not swayed with passion, or led by uninformed affections, yet hath he cloven to us still amidst all persuasions of opposites; and could not be moved to have an evil thought of us, for all their clamours. His patience and contentment in being oppressed hath been much; he hath sometimes lent £800 at one time, for other men to adventure in this business, all to draw them on; and hath indeed by his free-heartedness been the only glue to the company. And if God should take him now away, I scarce think much more would be done, save as to enquire at the dividend what is to be had." *Bradford Letter Book*, 34.

[3] If I mistake not, it was not much less. — BRADFORD.

cuntrie, and recovered by the planters, (as was before related,) who, after she came home, was attached by one of the company for his perticuler debte, and now sent againe on this accounte. The other was a great ship, who was well fitted with an experienced m[aste]r and company of fisher-men, to make a viage, and to goe to Bilbo or Sabastians [1] with her fish; the lesser, her order was to load with cor-fish,[2] and to bring the beaver home for England, that should be received for the goods sould to the plantation. This bigger ship made a great viage of good drie [3] fish, the which, if they had gone to a market with, would have yeelded them (as such fish was sould that season) 1800*li.* which would have enriched them. But because ther was a bruite of warr with France,[4] the m[aste]r neglected (through timerousnes) his order, and put first into Plimoth, and after into Portsmouth, and so lost their opportunitie, and came

[1] San Sebastian, capital of the province of Guipúzcoa, and lying on the Bay of Biscay.

[2] A corrupt form of corved. "The Corved Herrings, which are to make red Herrings, are those that are taken in the Yarmouth seas, provided that they can bee carried on shore within 2 or 3 dayes after they be taken, otherwise they must be pickled. The Corved Herrings are never gipped [disemboweled] but rowed in salt, for the better preservation of them, till they can be brought a shore, and if any be preserved for to make Red-herrings, they are washed out of the pickle before they be hanged up in the Red-herring houses." S. Smith, *Herringbusse Trade* (1641), 7.

[3] Bradford had written "ship."

[4] King James died March 27, 1625, and the relations of England with Europe did not promise to be of advantage to the new monarch. After breaking off the negotiations for the Spanish marriage, a bride for Charles was sought in France, and Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV, became Queen Consort of the new king. On June 16 she entered London with the king, and two days after Parliament met at Westminster. The session proved to be a short one, as an adjournment came on July 11, leaving the king without the means of performing his pledges to France. His leanings towards aiding the French Huguenots, and the known intention of forming a Protestant alliance against Spain to which France could give only a half-hearted if any adherence, threatened to produce differences between the two countries, not to speak of the domestic quarrel between Charles and his consort. It was in this period of uncertainty that the ships from New Plymouth reached Europe. Actual war did not exist, but rumors of coming trouble prevailed.

by the loss. The lesser ship had as ill success, though she was as hopfull as the other for the marchants profite; for they had fild her with goodly cor-fish taken upon the banke, as full as she could swime; and besides she had some 800*li.* weaight of beaver, besides other furrs to a good value from the plantation. The m[aste]r seeing so much goods come, put it abord the biger ship, for more saftie; but Mr. Winslow (their factor in this busines [1]) was bound in a bond of 500*li.* to send it to London in the smale ship; ther was some contending between the m[aste]r and him aboute it. But he tould the m[aste]r he would follow his order aboute it; if he would take it out afterward, it should be at his perill. So it went in the smale ship, and he sent bills of lading in both. The m[aste]r was so carfull being both so well laden, as they went joyfully home togeather, for he towed the leser ship at his sterne all the way over bound, and they had shuch fayr weather as he never cast her of till they were shott deep in to the English Chanell, almost within the sight of Plimoth; and yet ther she was unhaply taken by a Turks man of warr, and carried into Saly, wher the m[aste]r and men were made slaves, and many of the beaver skins were sould for 4*d.* a peece.[2] [138]

Thus was all their hopes dasht, and the joyfull news they ment to

[1] The more usual term for the person in whose charge the cargo lay was cape-merchant. His authority did not extend to any branch of navigation.

[2] Such instances were not unusual at that period. Tunis, Tripoli, and Algiers attracted to themselves the outlawed and the lawless who found a profit and a career in preying upon the commerce of Europe. The rulers of these communities shared in the plunder, and in reality owed their election to the hordes who flocked to have a part in the open piracy. In 1617 a fleet of seventy ships were engaged in this form of adventure, and, as a vessel rarely returned to port without a prize, the cargoes of which were confiscated and the crews enslaved, the losses on commerce were great. Attempts had been made to agree upon an attack upon the well fortified city of the pirates by the combined fleets of England, Spain, and Holland, but political reasons interfered and destroyed any hope of united policy. An expedition under Sir Robert Mansell in 1621 failed, and depredations continued practically unpunished. At this very time English vessels had been taken by these pirates but eight leagues from the Land's End, and so active were the rovers that merchant vessels scarcely ventured from port to port. Gardiner, *History of England*, v. 428.

cary home turned to heavie tidings.[1] Some thought this a hand of God for their too great exaction of the poore plantation, but Gods judgments are unscerchable, neither dare I be bould therwith; but however it shows us the uncertainty of all humane things, and what litle cause ther is of joying in them or trusting to them.

In the bigger of these ships was sent over Captine Standish from the plantation, with leters and instructions, both to their freinds of the company which still clave to them, and also to the Honourable Counsell of New England. To the company to desire that seeing that they ment only to let them have goods upon sale, that they might have them upon easier termes, for they should never be able to bear shuch high intrest, or to allow so much per cent; also that what they would doe in that way that it might be disburst in money, or shuch goods as were fitte and needfull for them, and bought at best hand; and to acquainte them with the contents of his leters to the Counsell above said,[2] which was to this purpose, to desire their favour and help; that shuch of the adventurers as had thus forsaken and deserted them, might be brought to some order, and not to keepe them bound, and them selves be free. But that they might either stand to ther former covenants, or ells come to some faire end, by dividente, or composition. But he came in a very bad time, for the Stat was full of trouble, and the plague very hote in London, so as no bussiness could be done;[3] yet he spake with some of the Honourd Counsell, who promised all helpfullnes to the plantation which lay in them. And sundrie of their freinds the adventurers were so weakened with their losses the last year, by the losse of the ship

[1] This capture of the *Little James* proved the undoing of one of the adventurers, Thomas Fletcher, who had the larger interest in the cargo. See *Bradford Letter Book*.

[2] See p. 419, *supra*.

[3] The dreaded plague made its appearance in London in April of this year; by the middle of June the weekly mortality was one hundred and sixty-five, and by the first of July, three hundred and seventy. It is estimated that thirty-five thousand died in London. The visitation appears to have been most severe in Leyden, Denmark, and Italy.

A FORME OF PRAYER,

Neceſſary to bee vſed in theſe dange
rous times, of Warre and Peſtilence,
for the ſafety and preſeruation of his
MAIESTY and his Realmes.

Set forth by Authoritie.



LONDON
Printed by BONHAM NORTON, and *Iohn Bill*,
Printers to the Kings moſt Excellent
MAIESTIE. 1626.

taken by the Turks, and the loss of their fish, which by reason of the warrs they were forcte to land at Portsmouth, and so came to litle; so as, though their wills were good, yet theyr power was litle. And thir dyed shuch multitudes weekly of the plague, as all trade was dead, and litle money stirring. Yet with much adooe he tooke up 150*li.*[1] (and spent a good deal of it in expences) at ·50· per cent. which he bestowed in trading goods and such other most needfull comodities as he knew requiset for their use;[2] and so returned passenger in a fhishing ship, haveing prepared a good way for the compossition that was afterward made.

In the mean time it pleased the Lord to give the plantation peace and health and contented minds,[3] and so to blese ther labours, as they had corne sufficient, (and some to spare to others,) with other

[1] Bradford had first written "200."

[2] In the accounts of payments made in 1628 by Allerton are the following items, which probably constituted this loan obtained by Standish:

"Paid to Mr. Elbridg for £125 taken up at £50 p. c.	187.	10.	0
"Paid to John Pocock for £20 taken up at £30 p. c. for 2 years	32.	0.	0
"Paid to Edward Basse for £5. taken up at 6*s.* p. £. for 2 years	8.	0.	0
"Paid to Timothy Hatherley for £10 taken up at 6*s.* p. £. for 2 years	16.	0.	0
"Paid to Mr. Linge for £5 at 6*s.* per £. for 2 years	8.	0.	0"

Here was a loan for £175 which was paid off in two years by £251.10. Elbridge alone was not among the signers to the agreement of November 15, 1626 (vol. II. p. 6).

While the rise of opportunities for using capital in commercial ventures increased, the mediæval restrictions upon interest, or usury, broke down, and the merchant was free to borrow at almost any rate he considered fair for his particular purpose. The moral objections against usury had given place to commercial reasons in its favor. The advantage taken of Standish's necessity is apparent. In 1624 an act, 21 Jac. I. c. 17, had been passed against excessive rates, and eight per cent was named as the limit beyond which "usury" should not go. The lending of money at interest led the way to two important economic changes in this century: the privileged trading companies felt the competition of interlopers who traded on borrowed capital, and were gradually broken down by that competition; and the ground was prepared for the beginnings of banking.

[3] Bradford wrote to Cushman, June 9, 1625, that the planters "never felt the sweetness of the country till this year; and not only we but all planters in the land begin to do it." *Letter Book*, 36.

foode; neither ever had they any supply of foode but what they first brought with them. After harvest this year, they sende out a boats load of corne ·40· or ·50· leagues to the eastward, up a river called Kenibeck; it being one of those ·2· shalops which their carpenter had built them the year before; for bigger vessell had they none. They had laid a litle deck over her midships to keepe the corne drie, but the men were faine to stand it out all weathers without shealter, and that time [139] of the year begins to growe tempestious. But God preserved them, and gave them good success, for they brought home 700*li.* of beaver, besides some other furrs, having litle or nothing els but this corne, which themselves had raised out of the earth. This viage was made by Mr. Winslow and some of the old standards,[1] for seamen they had none.[2]

[1] "First written as in the text, then altered to *standerss*." DEANE.

[2] This voyage, the promise of future profits in like adventures, and the possibility of being shut out entirely from the Kennebec by the people of Piscataqua induced New Plymouth to take out a patent for a trading station there. Vol. II. p. 18.

Anno Dom: ·1626·

ABOUT the begining of Aprill they heard of Captain Standish his arrivall, and sent a boat to fetch him home, and the things he had brought. Welcome he was, but the news he broughte was sadd in many regards; not only in regarde of the former losses, before related, which their freinds had suffered, by which some in a maner were undon, others much disabled from doing any further help, and some dead of the plague, but also that Mr. Robinson, their pastor, was dead, which struck them with much sorrow and sadnes, as they had cause. His and their adversaries had been long and continually plotting how they might hinder his coming hither, but the Lord had appointed him a better place; concerning whose death and the maner therof, it will appere by these few lines write to the Gov[erno]r and Mr. Brewster.[1]

[1] Of Robinson Hubbard said: "He was, as it seemed, highly respected of his people, (now dispersed into two companies, further asunder than was Dothan and Hebron,) as they were also of him. That which was the principal remora that detained him with the rest in Holland is not mentioned by any of his friends here, yet may it easily be supposed, viz., the sad difficulties, and sore trials, that his friends in New England had hitherto been encountered withal; so as those that were here could not seriously advise him and the rest to follow them, till things were brought to some better settlement in this their new Plantation, together with some back friends that did all they could to obstruct his coming over. The temptations of a wilderness, though not invincible, yet may be very hard to overcome; witness the experience of Israel of old, who were only to pass through it, and not first plant it, as were those here. The small hopes these had of their pastor's coming over to them, being heretofore revived by the new approach of the shipping every spring, possibly made them more slow in seeking out for another supply, as also more difficult in their choice of any other." *History*, 96. Hubbard (*History*, 42) gives an account of Robinson that is "intended as rather matter of commendation than reflection" upon him or any of the Christian brethren of his church. "The said Robinson, to give him his due, was a man of good learning, of a polished wit, and ingenious disposition and courteous behavior, yet not without too great tinctures of the sensorious spirit of their rigid separation;" but

ESSAYES.

OR,

OBSERVATIONS

DIVINE AND MORALL.

COLLECTED OVT OF

holy Scriptures, Ancient and Moderne Writers, both divine and humane.

As alſo, out of the great volume of mens manners: Tending to the furtherance of knowledge and vertue.

By JOHN ROBINSON.

The ſecond Edition; with two Tables, the one of the Authours quoted. The other of the matters contained in the Obſervations.

PROVERBS 9.9.

Give inſtruction to a wiſe man, and he will be wiſer, teach a Righteous man, and hee will increaſe in learning.

LONDON,
Printed by *I. D.* for *I. Bellamie*, at the three golden Lyons in Cornhill neere the Royall Exchange. 1638.

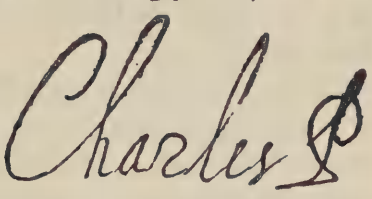
LOVING AND KIND FRINDS, etc. I know not whether this will ever come to your hands, or miscarie, as other my letters have done; yet in regard of the Lords dealing with us hear, I have had a great desire to write unto you, knowing your desire to bear a parte with us, both in our joyes, and sorrows, as we doe with you. These are therfore to give you to understand, that it hath pleased the Lord to take out of this vaell of tears, your and our loving and faithfull pastor, and my dear and Reve[ren]d brother, Mr. John Robinson, who was sick some ·8· days. He begane to be sick on Saturday in the morning, yet the next day (being the Lords day) he taught us twise. And so the weeke after grew weaker, ever[y] day more then other; yet he felt no paine but weaknes all the time of his sicknes. The phisick he tooke wrought kindly in mans judgmente, but he grew weaker every day, feeling litle or no paine, and sensible to the very last. He fell sicke the ·22· of Feb-[ruary], and departed this life the ·1· of March. He had a continuall inwarde ague, but free from infection, so that all his freinds came freely to him. And if either prayers, tears, or means, would have saved

he grew in years, he "grew in many excellent gifts both of nature and grace, and great moderation of spirit in regard of what he manifested in former time." Hubbard had little sympathy with the Separatists, and speaks (p. 43) of Brewster as "of a finer alloy than the ordinary sort of the Separation." See p. 444, *infra*.

John Robinson's *Observations Divine and Morall* had appeared in 1625 and in two issues, a second title reading *Essayes; or Observations*, etc. Three years later, in 1628, an issue was made somewhat different in certain pages. "The most curious feature of the transaction is, that the obvious design of these alterations is to leave out, in the first instance, all that closing portion of the Essay on 'Religion, and the Differences and Disputations thereabout,' which touches upon *Toleration;* and in the second instance to drop out the whole of the Essay on 'Heresie and Schisme.'" As correct copies of this edition of 1628 are found we have "one perfect as the author left them, the other doctored for some unguessed market." Henry M. Dexter, in *Mass. Hist. Proceedings*, XVII. 63.

Robinson was buried in St. Peter's Church, March 4, but the exact location of the place of burial is unknown. "A tradition, possibly well-founded, locates it in the bay or alcove which projects from the cathedral at the point nearest to his house." In 1891, a memorial tablet to Robinson, erected by the National Council of Congregational Churches of the United States, was placed in the outside wall of the church, and unveiled with appropriate ceremony on July 24. Dexter, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 591, 592 *n.*

his life, he had not gone hence. But he having faithfully finished his course, and performed his worke which the Lord had appointed him here to doe, he now resteth with the Lord in eternall hapines. We wanting him and all Church Gov[erno]rs yet we still (by the mercie of God) continue and hould close togeather, in peace and quietnes; and so hope we shall doe, though we be very weake. Wishing (if shuch were the will of God) that you and we were againe united togeather in one, either ther or here; but seeing it is the will of the Lord thus to dispose of things, we must labour with patience to rest contented, till it please the Lord otherwise to dispose. For [140][1] news, is here not much; only as in England we have lost our old king James, who departed this life aboute a month agoe,[2] so here they have lost the old prince, Grave Maurise;[3] who both departed this life since my brother Robinson. And as in England we have a new-king Charles, of whom ther is great hope, so hear they have made prince Hendrick Generall in his brothers place, etc. Thus with my love remembred, I take leave and rest,



Your assured loving freind,

ROGER WHITE.

Leyden, Aprill 28. Anno: 1625.

Thus these too great princes, and their pastor, left this world near aboute one time. Death makes no difference.

He further brought them notice of the death of their anciente freind, Mr. Cush-man, whom the Lord tooke away allso this year, and aboute this time, who was as their right hand with their freinds the adventurers, and for diverce years had done and agitated all

[1] To this point the record was written upon every other page of the manuscript book. Every page is now written upon till folio 154, when the practice of leaving every other page blank was resumed.

[2] March 27.

[3] Maurice, son of William the Silent and Louise de Coligny, died April 23, 1625, five days before this letter was written, and was succeeded by his younger brother, Frederick Henry, one of the most capable of the House of Orange.

their bussines with them to ther great advantage. He had write to the Gove[rno]r but some few months before, of the sore sicknes of Mr. James Sherley, who was a cheefe freind to the plantation, and lay at the pointe of death, declaring his love and helpfullnes, in all things; and much bemoned the loss they should have of him, if God should now take him away, as being the stay and life of the whole bussines. As allso his owne purposs this year to come over, and spend his days with them. But he that thus write of anothers sicknes, knew not that his owne death was so near. It shows allso that a mans ways are not in his owne power, but in his hands, who hath the issues of life and death. Man m[a]y purpose, but God doth dispose.

Their other freinds from Leyden writ many leters to them full of sad laments for ther heavie loss; and though their wills were good to come to them, yet they saw no probabilitie of means, how it might be effected, but concluded (as it were) that all their hopes were cutt of; and many, being aged, began to drop away by death.[1]

[1] The Leyden church after the death of Robinson did not long hold together. A part of the congregation came to New Plymouth in 1629, and another part joined the church in Amsterdam that had been under Ainsworth's teaching, and to whom John Canne succeeded, and held the position for seventeen years. It was only natural for the relations between the Leyden and the Plymouth congregations to become less close and finally completely to be broken. Robinson between the time of the sailing of the *Speedwell* and his death modified his views of church relations. Antonius Walæus, professor of theology in Leyden University, placed on record in May, 1628, the fact that Robinson had "at divers times conversed with me concerning the separation between their congregation and the other English congregations in this country, and that he has at divers times testified that he was disposed to do his utmost to remove this schism; that he was also averse to educating his son for the work of the ministry in such congregations, but much preferred to have him exercise his ministry in the Dutch churches." That Robinson desired the union of the English churches in Holland was also asserted at the same time by Festus Hommius, rector of the Theological College at Leyden. The position of the Reformed churches may have seemed to him to be more correct than his own; but it is difficult to believe without further evidence, that he was ready to return to the Anglican church, and had, under the influence of Ames and Parker, seriously turned his thoughts in that direction, as Hoornbeeck states. Dexter, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 592. Canne did not agree

Ick ondergeschreven, bekenne mits desen dat D. Robbertsonius predikant van de Engelsche kercke alhier, de de Heinsche geschapt heeft tot Stichdeck ende met mij geconfereert heeft van de stichtinge tot Stichdeck toe gedaen, ende de gedoopte deer andere Engelsche hier te Lande, ende dat sij tot Stichdeck eenige getuigen gebruyckt dat sij gedoopt waren door de predikers ofte ouderlingen tot Stichdeck toe gedaen ende de andere Godtsdienst, dat sij oock sijne soon niet en wilde doopen om sijnder gebruyckte als predikant te Duins, maer veel liever om inde nederlantsche gebruyckte sijnde doopt te laten geboren, dat sij oock tot sulcken synde door D. Polmorum is nu schijnt overleden tot middelburch, gaende te maken, om eenige overlick onderhout tot sijnder doopt eenige tijts te vermeren dat sij oock nu tot Stichdeck eenige betuyget heeft, om dat sij alhier so veel stadtsgelts in sijn gebruyck hondt om selve te doen te nemen bedroge dat sij daerom mit eenige goeden deel sijner gebruyckt was na Oostindien te varen als sij nu is tot Stichdeck eenige getuyge dat sij sulcx doet nemen bedroge dat is alleenlick om tot Stichdeck eenige te passeren Daty in Stichdeck 25. May 1625

Antonius. Walaeus. Ver. Th.
Theologiæ Professor

Ick ouderschreven verclare van de voorgaende Bekentenisse der beyde Engelsche Predikers alhier, bekentenisse ick ondergeschreven mede onderteeckent te hebben. D. Robinsons sal. g. Dese Stichdeck gebleven. Actum Middelburch 26 May 1625.

Festus Hommius.
Coll. Theol. Regens.

All which things (before related) being well weighed and laied togither,[1] it could not but strick them with great perplexitie; and to looke humanly on the state of things as they presented them selves at this time, it is a marvell it did not wholy discourage them, and sinck them. But they gathered up their spirits, and the Lord so helped them, whose worke they had in hand, as now when they were at lowest[2] they begane to rise againe, and being striped (in a maner) of all humane helps and hopes, he brought things aboute other wise, in his devine providence, as they were not only upheld

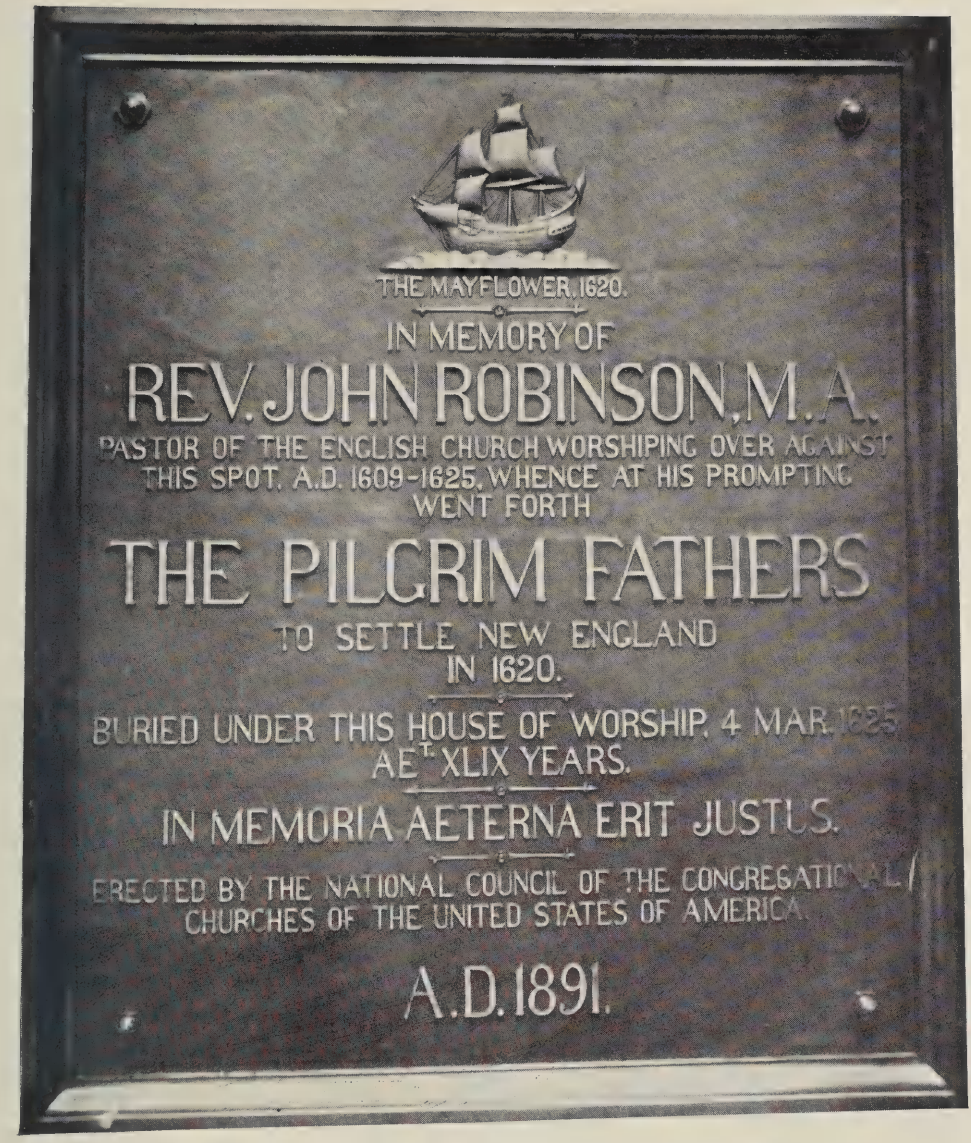
with Robinson in all things, even directing one of his writings, *A Stay against Straying* (1639), against Robinson's opinion of the lawfulness of hearing the ministers of the Church of England.

Gorton vaguely refers to an incident of this sort, which he thus relates. As he was at Plymouth in 1636–37 the reading of the letter of dismissal must have occurred at that time.

"I would say som thing of the foundation of your Church at Plimouth if I thought it were not a matter too low to talke of, for when suit was made to the Church in Holland, out of which your Church came, to procure a dismission of a sister there to the Church of Plimouth, though the Gentlewoman vpon ocation had bin in New England diuers yeares; yet a dismission would not be granted, their preaching minister then with them, I knew to be a godly man and was familiarly acquainted with him *now aboue halfe a hundred yeares agoe*, in Gorton where I was born and bred and the fathers of my body for many generations, who I hope neuer followed hipocrites to be brought into heauen, that only lead downe into Sheoll; The *ruling Elders* when this dismission was earnestly sought for, as I take it *were frenchmen* zealously affected, the Church vnanimously being against a dismission, the Elders gave this ground and reason that they could not dismisse their sister to the Church of Plimouth in New England, Because it consisted of an Apostatized people fallen from the faith of the Gospell, and when through much importunitie a writing was procured properly of advice to their Sister how to carry her selfe among them being already married there her husband being the Solicitor, whom you know I need not to name, And I thinke you know after what manner the writing was read in your Church, by your ancient Elder [Brewster] part concealed and part expounded to the best, If you know not I doe, for I was then present, Now to haue this testimony or Assertion concerning the foundation of your Church by the mother out of whose belly you came, may be concidered, I thinke you can say little more or lesse of the Church of Rome." *Letter to Nathaniel Morton*, 1669, printed in Force, *Tracts*, IV.

[1] Bradford wrote "to-to-gither."

[2] Note. — BRADFORD.



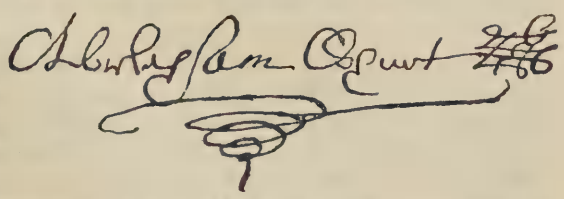
MEMORIAL TABLET, ST. PETER'S CHURCH, LEYDEN

and sustained, but their proceedings both honoured and imitated by others; as by the sequell will more appeare, if the Lord spare me life and time to declare the same.

Haveing now no fishing bussines, or other things to intend, but only their trading and planting, they sett them selves to follow the same with the best industrie they could. The planters finding their corne, what they could spare from ther necessities, to be a commoditie, (for they sould it at 6*s*. a bushell,) used great dilligence in planting the same.[1] And the Gove[rno]r and shuch as were designed to manage the trade, (for it was retained for the generall good, [141] and none were to trade in particuler,) they followed it to the best advantage they could; and wanting trading goods, they understoode that a plantation which was at Monhigen,[2] and belonged

[1] In the attempted regulation of trade and industry begun in this year, precedents, drawn from the laws of the mother country, restrictive in principle, were closely followed. An embargo was laid on produce and labor. On March 29, 1626, it was decreed: "That for the preventing of such inconveniences as do and may befall the plantation by the want of Timber. That no man of what condition soever sell or transport any manner of works as frames for houses, planks, boards, shipping, shallops, boats, cannoos, or whatsoever may tend to the distruction of timber aforesaid, how little so ever the quantity bee, without the consent, approbation and liking of Governour and Councill." It was also decreed that "no handy-craftsman of what profession soever, as Taylors, Shoemakers, Carpenters, Joyners, Smiths, Sawyers, or whatsoever, which do or may reside or belong to this plantation of Plimouth, shall use their science or trades at home or abroade for any strangers or forreigners till such time as the nescessity of the Colony be served." A third order, for preventing scarcity and also for furthering the trade, provided, "that no corne, beans or pease be transported, imbarqued or sold to that end, to be conveyed out of the Colony, without the leave and licence of the governour and Counsill." *Plymouth Colony Records*, XI. 3, 4.

[2] The settlement at Monhegan was that of Jennens (see p. 341, *supra*). On learning that Jennens intended to break up his plantation, two men of Bristol, Robert Aldworth, the friend of Hakluyt, and his partner, Gyles Elbridge, despatched Abraham Shurt to buy the island, which was done for £50. Aldworth was one of those from whom



to some marchants of Plimoth was to breake up, and diverse usefull goods was ther to be sould; the Gove[rno]r and Mr. Winslow tooke a boat and some hands and went thither. But Mr. David Thomson, who lived at Pascataway, understanding their purpose, tooke oppertunitie to goe with them, which was some hinderance to them both; for they, perceiveing their joynt desires to buy, held their goods at higher rates; and not only so, but would not sell a parcell of their trading goods, excepte they sould all. So, lest they should further prejudice one an other, they agreed to buy all, and devid them equally between them. They bought allso a parcell of goats, which they distributed at home as they saw neede and occasion, and tooke corne for them of the people, which gave them good content. Their moyety of the goods came to above 400*li.* starling.[1] Ther was allso that spring a French ship cast away at Saca-

Pring received his commission in 1603. Under the auspices of these two merchants a settlement was established on the island by Abraham Shurt.

[1] So large a sum represented a well-stocked warehouse of goods, but unfortunately, no inventory of the purchase exists. In eight years the kind of goods looked upon as fit for trading purposes would not have changed materially, and we have in the *Trelawny Papers* (2 *Maine Hist. Soc. Collections*, III.) such an inventory with comments by the agent, made in 1634. The commodities were designed for the fishermen, as well as for Indians, but it is the latter trade that is the more interesting. Winter, agent for Trelawny at Richmond Island, pointed out that the coats were good, but too short, the Indians selecting the longest, which sold the more readily; neither Englishmen nor Indians cared for the coverlets, which should be soft and warm; the waistcoats were too small; the hats being without bands or even lined in the brows, would be worn by neither class of buyers, and the shirts, shoes and stockings were suitable, save that the shoes would shrink in the snow. Aqua vitae, Indian beads and coarse woolen rugs or coverlets completed the articles offered. The figures given to certain items on p. 37 of the *Trelawny Papers*, refer apparently to freight or other charges; for the value of the goods must have been greater. Yet there are reasons for believing that in trading with the Indians, quality counted but little. For skins, the French gave bread, peas, beans, prunes, tobacco, kettles, hatchets, iron arrow-points, awls, puncheons, cloaks and blankets. The natives complained that the merchandise was often counterfeited and adulterated, and that peas, beans, prunes and bread, that were spoiled, were sold to them, corrupting the body and bringing on dysentery and other diseases. The Indians early noticed that mingling and trading with

dahock, in which were many Biscaie ruggs and other commodities, which were falen into these mens hands, and some other fisher men at Damerins-cove, which were allso bought in partnership, and made their parte arise to above 500*li.* This they made shift to pay for, for the most part, with the beaver and comodities they had gott the winter before, and what they had gathered up that somer. Mr. Thomson having some thing overcharged him selfe, desired they would take some of his, but they refused except he would let them have his French goods only; and the marchant[1] (who was one of Bristol) would take their bill for to be paid the next year. They were both willing, so they became ingaged for them and tooke them. By which means they became very well furnished for trade; and tooke of therby some other ingagments which lay upon them, as the money taken up by Captaine Standish, and the remains of former debts. With these goods, and their corne after harvest, they gott good store of trade, so as they were enabled to pay their ingagments against the time, and to get some cloathing for the people, and had some comodities before hand. But now they begane to be envied, and others wente and fild the Indeans with corne, and beat downe the prise, giveing them twise as much as they had done, and under traded them in other comodities allso.[2]

the French caused their people to die; "and they tell how one by one the different coasts, according as they have begun to traffic with us, have been more reduced by disease; adding, that the reason why the Armouchiquois do not diminish in population is because they are not at all careless. Thereupon they often puzzle their brains, and sometimes think that the French poison them." The French retorted that gorging and drunkenness were sufficient explanations. Biard's *Relation*, 1616 (Thwaites), III. 69, 105.

[1] Possibly Abraham Shurt, who was at Pemaquid in July, 1626.

[2] This competition could come from the settlements on the Maine coast or from the crews of the fishing vessels frequenting these parts. The Indians were satisfied with trifles, such as metal fishing-hooks, beads, knives and other small objects, so an extensive supply of trading goods would not be necessary to obtain the furs they brought to the coast. A trade in corn must have been carried on by the Dutch or French, or by the fishing vessels that came up from Virginia.

Bradford complained to the Council for New England of this irregular trading. "We

This year they sent Mr. Allerton into England, and gave him order to make a composition with the adventurers, upon as good termes as he could (unto which some way had ben made the year before by Captaine Standish); but yet injoyned him not to conclud absolutly till they knew the termes, and had well considered of them; but to drive it to as good an issew as he could, and referr the conclusion to them. Also they gave him a commission[1] under their hands and seals to take up some money, provided it exseeded not shuch a summe specified, for which they engaged them selves, and gave him order how to lay out the same for the use of the plantation.[2]

cannot likewise forbear to complain unto your Lordships, of the irregular living of many in this land, who without either patent or licence, order or government, live, trade, and truck, not with any intent to plant, but rather to forage the country, and get what they can, whether by right or wrong, and then be gone: So as such as have been and are at great charge to settle plantations, will not be able to subsist, if some remedy be not provided, both with these and the inordinate course of fishermen, who begin to leave fishing, and fall wholly to trading, to the great detriment of both the small beginning here, and the state of England, by the unprofitable consuming of the victuals of the land upon these salvages: Whereas plantations might here better raise the same in the land, and so be enabled both to subsist and to return the profit thereof into England for other necessaries, which would be beneficial to the commonwealth." *Letter Book*, 56.

[1] This commission will be found in *Bradford Letter Book*, 46.

[2] Little is known of Isaac Allerton beyond what Bradford tells us. He was of the Leyden company, and with his wife (Mary Norris), son and two daughters, came in the *Mayflower*. During his residence in Holland he attracted no notice for business ability, and no reason can be found in Bradford for his being now sent upon a somewhat delicate mission, involving the future prosperity, if not indeed, the very existence of the plantation. His was one of the seven houses on the south side of "the streete" in 1620, and in the division of lands in 1623, seven acres, the largest single allotment made, fell to him, on the "south side of the Brooke to the baywards." He was one of the undertakers in the trade agreement of 1627, vol. II. p. 29, presumably because of his ability on this mission to the English adventurers. In the tax-list of 1633 he received a higher rating than any member of the community (£3. 11*s*), almost double that of Bradford, Church, or Jenny, who formed the next in rate (£1. 16*s* each), and larger than that of Winslow (£2. 5*s*), which is good evidence of his well-being. In 1634 he was second in the list of rate payers (£1. 16*s*), and was surpassed only by

And finding they ranne a great hazard to goe so long viages in a smale open boat, espetialy the winter season, they begane to thinke how they might gett a small pinass;[1] as for the reason afforesaid, so also because others had raised the prise with the Indeans above the halfe of what they had formerly given, so as in shuch a boat they could not [143][2] carry a quantity sufficent to answer their ends. They had no ship-carpenter amongst them, neither knew how to get one at presente; but they having an ingenious man that was a house carpenter, who also had wrought with the ship carpenter (that was dead) when he built their boats, at their request he put forth him selfe to make a triall that way of his skill; and tooke one of the bigest of ther shalops and sawed her in the midle, and so lenthened her some ·5· or ·6· feete, and strengthened her with timbers, and so builte her up, and laid a deck on her; and so made her a conveniente and wholsome vessell, very fitt and comfortable for their use, which did them servise ·7· years after; and they gott her finished, and fitted with sayles and anchors, the insuing year. And thus passed the affairs of this year.[3]

Winslow and William Collier (£2. 5*s*. each). Bradford has on the whole dealt kindly with one who seems to have been unsuccessful in all his ventures.

Allerton's expenses were to be met by borrowing the sum of £100 in England for the space of two years, and upon such terms as he could. He obtained £200, but was obliged to pay thirty per cent interest, by which, adds Bradford, "appears in what straits we were; and yet this was upon better terms than the goods which were sent us the year before [1625], being at forty five per cent." *Bradford Letter Book*, 46. See vol. II. p. 34.

[1] Pinnaces varied in size. In 1640 one was engaged for on the following lines: "thirty two foote by the keele and five foote and halfe in the hould deepe to be made proportionable according to the same with a decke and to be seeled throughout." Such a vessel cost forty pounds. Lechford, *Note Book*, 418.

[2] Here occurs another error in the paging of the original; 142 is omitted.

[3] In November, 1626, a brief report on the colony at New Netherland was laid before the States-General of the Netherlands by Peter Schagen. The news had just come in by the ship *Arms of Amsterdam*. "Our people are in good heart and live in peace there; the Women also have borne some children there. They have purchased the Island Manhattes from the Indians for the value of 60 guilders; tis 11,000 morgens

in size. They had all their grain sowed by the middle of May, and reaped by the middle of August. They send thence samples of summer grain; such as wheat, rye, barley, oats, buckwheat, canary seed, beans and flax." The cargo consisted of a goodly quantity of furs and some oak and hickory. *Col. Hist. of New York*, I. 37. The Dutch were the most active competitors of New Plymouth.

END OF VOLUME I

The Riverside Press
CAMBRIDGE · MASSACHUSETTS
U · S · A

VARIATIONS OF THE MAGNETIC NEEDLE

Locality	Latitude North	Longitude West	Date	Observed Variation West	Annual Change
Manomet	41° 56′	70° 33′	Sept. 1843	9° 17′	10′ 42″
"	"	"	July & Aug. 1847	9° 33′	
Sheet Pudding	41 43	70 20	Aug. 1843 & 1847	9 59	40 56
Wellfleet	41 56	70 01	Sept. 1860	10 44	11 18
Provincetown	42 04	70 11	Sept. 1860	11 33	11 56

Present annual increase 5 minutes

LIGHT HOUSES

Name	Latitude	Longitude	Time from Greenwich	Height above Horizon	Interval of Flash	Height above Sea
Plymouth or Gurnet	41° 58′ 30″	70° 59′ 45″	4h 43m 57.78	*Fixed*		
Race Point	42 03 43	70 16 16	4 40 53 0	*Fixed second variation*	4m 30s	45 ft.
Long Point	42 02 42	70 09 45	4 40 38.2	*Fixed*		37 ft.
Nauset Beach	41 51 48	70 01 45	4 40 10.8	"		46 ft.
Billingsgate Island	41 52 16	70 03 48	4 40 13.2	"		52 ft.
Sandy Neck	41 43 18	70 30 30	4 41 00.1	"		38 ft.
Cape Cod or Highlands of Truro	41 03 23	70 03 16	4 40 13.2	"		165 ft.
Nauset Beach	41 51 37	69 58 44	4 39 56.9	"		30 ft.

TIDES

The plane of reference to which the soundings are given is Mean Low Water.

	Plymouth	Sandwich	Wellfleet	Provincetown
Corrected Establishment on				
Average time of High Water after Moon's meridian passage	5h 7m s.	5h 22m s.	5h 27m s.	5h 33m s.
Mean Rise and Fall of Tides on				
Rise of Mean High Water above the plane of reference	9. 2 ft.	8. 3 ft.	8. 3 ft.	9. 2 ft.
Rise of High Water Spring Tides ... do. ... do. Average.	10. 8 ..	9. 6 ..	9. 8 ..	9. 9 ..
Fall of Low Water ... do. ... below ... do. ... do.	0. 9 ..	0. 9 ..	1. 2 ..	0. 7 ..
Rise of High Water Neap Tides ... above ... do. ... do.	9. 6 ..	8. 8 ..	9. 0 ..	8. 5 ..
Height of Low Water ... do. ... do. ... do.	0. 6 ..	0. 5 ..	0. 8 ..	0. 7 ..
Rise of Highest Tide observed ... do. ... do.	11. 5 ..	11. 0 ..	10. 5 ..	12. 5 ..
Fall of Lowest Tide ... do. ... below ... do.	1. 5 ..	1. 0 ..	1. 3 ..	1. 5 ..
Mean duration of Rise	6h 11m	6h 30m	6h 17m	6h 15m
Mean ... do. ... of Fall	6. 15	6. 15	6. 10	6. 20

SOUNDINGS

The Soundings are expressed in feet to 30 feet, or within the dotted curves, beyond them in fathoms, and show the depth at mean low water the plane of reference. The dotted curves beyond low water mark represent the bottom with to the respective depths of 12 and 30 feet.

The characteristic soundings only are given on the map, they are selected from the numerous soundings taken in the survey, so as to represent the figure of the bottom.

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOTTOMS

Naturally or Originally	Colours or Shades (when qualifying Nouns)	Other qualifying Words (when used before)
M. for Mud	bk. for black	hrd. for hard
S. = Sand	wh. = white	wh. = soft
G. = Gravel	yl. = yellow	blu. = fine
Sh. = Shells	gy. = grey	crs. = coarse
P. = Pebbles	bu. = blue	brk. = broken
Sp. = Spocks	dk. = dark	lg. = large
R. = Rock	lt. = light	sml. = small
	gn. = green	sty. = rocky
	bn. = brown	stk. = sticky

Note. The principal materials and their qualities are represented by larger letters than the subsidiary.
+ Signifies both Rocks. ± Both coarish at Low water.

U.S. COAST SURVEY

BENJAMIN PEIRCE SUPERINTENDENT

COAST CHART No. 10

CAPE COD BAY

Triangulation by C.M.EAKIN and Cap.T.J.LEE U.S.A. Assts.

Topography by H.L.WHITING J.B.GLUCK U.S.A. Assts. and L.M.HARRISON E.C.F.WEST Assts.

H.ADAMS & C.H.BOYD Assts. and C.T.ZERDELLA Sub Asst.

Hydrography by the parties under the command of

Lieuts. Comdg. C.H.McBLAIR M.WOODHULL & K.STELLWAGEN U.S.N.

and H.MITCHELL Assistant

Scale as shown

Published in 1874

Hydrographic Office
C.S.Peirce
Assist. Coast Survey
In charge of Office

The Triangulation was executed between 1850 and 1866
The Topography ... do. ... do. 1849 and 1866
The Hydrography ... do. ... do. 1849 and 1871
The Magnetic observations were made by Capt. Geo. Clinton U.S.A. C.A.G. Bonnitte and C.A.Schott Assts. Coast Survey between 1843 & 1847

Statute Miles
Yards
Nautical Miles

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